

AMERICAN OPINION

*Beginning a
new regular feature:*

Hest

HISTORY

**IF YOU
WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .**

AN INFORMAL REVIEW

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50¢

AMERICAN OPINION

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Dear Reader:

We are purloining this parable from Dean Clarence Manion, without permission but without anxiety. For whoever heard of a lawyer being able to win a case he brought on his own behalf, for plagiarism or anything else?

At any rate, Pat Manion says he had always wanted a Grandfather's Clock. And finally, when he acquired a house which had a suitable landing at a turn of the stairs, he bought one. His seven-year-old son was completely fascinated by this impressive mechanism. The boy would sit in front of the clock, to watch its pendulum swing, and to listen to the hour being struck, as his favorite pastime.

Early one morning, while Pat and his wife were still asleep, the youngster had taken his usual post. Everything was normal until seven o'clock. Then something got caught inside the monster, causing it to repeat each blow of the gong. So the clock struck fourteen times. The boy, amazed and excited at the count, went dashing into his parents' bedroom, grabbed his father by the shoulders, shook him, and shouted with alarm: "Daddy, wake up quick! It's later than it's ever been before!"

It's because this youngster was so entirely correct, in a sense he did not understand, that we are introducing in this number our new regular feature, IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT We intend each month henceforth, in the pages thus headed, to give you as far as we are able an account of what is really happening at active spots on the Cold War front—instead of the perfumed hogwash you are getting from Washington and from most of the daily press. For an example of what we mean, turn to Page 23.

Sincerely,

Robert Welch

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EUROPEAN SURVEY

by

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Mailed from Vienna, September 26, 1958

AN EXTREMIST, in Europe, is these days a person who ventures a few apologetic words for John Foster Dulles. If this is a delicate situation for any American who *admires* the Secretary of State, imagine what it does to an American who does *not*! I, for example, must defend Mr. Dulles wherever I go, simply because Europeans, unanimously, attack him for the wrong reasons; yet in my heart of hearts, God knows, I consider him a tragic failure. Americans who share my point of view deplore his ambitious meekness that makes him yield, in spite of his better knowledge, to every Presidential whim of appeasement. But Europeans deplore—nay, *hate*—his better knowledge! We accuse him for not having resigned from a job that has been rendered hopeless by Eisenhower's impossible posture; but Europeans accuse him of trying to put starch in the President. Hardly ever before has one man been resented by so many for such varied and incompatible reasons.

At this moment of Far-Eastern crisis, I do not know of a single Continental newspaper that backs what Mr. Dulles, rather vaguely, would define as the official American position. Now since this department started in AMERICAN OPINION your correspondent, from time to time, has felt obliged to report the frightening chasm between Continental and American public opinion; but it has never been more frightening

than in these golden days of an autumn that, in 1958, reminds superstitious old Europeans of two other unforgettably beautiful autumns—1914 and 1939. My superstitious old friends in Europe hasten to add that it is more than just the tenderness of a tired sky and the extraordinary sheen of the foliage. There also is, they insist, an unmistakable finality in the air that, just before man plunges once more into madness, seems to double its sweetness. I wouldn't know. But I do know that Europe, though busier than ever with the commotions of its prosperity, smells war. And the horror of it is that, for its shivers, Europe holds America responsible—not Khrushchev, who relentlessly keeps turning the screw tighter and tighter, but poor John Foster Dulles who takes it on his glassy chin. (It would not occur to Europeans to hold Eisenhower responsible for anything that resembles decisiveness or consistency; the axiomatic belief of Europeans is that, since Sherman Adams left the White House, Mr. Dulles is President of the United States.)

Patience Is A (Communist) Virtue...

This seems to me important news—not because the United States, in the unlikely case of a Far-Eastern conflagration, would need European support, but because Europe's mood is the strongest asset in Khrushchev's balance sheet. In

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fact, Europe's mood is my main reason to predict that Khrushchev's course will be just as "reasonable" as Eisenhower's; that, in other words, whoever may finally lose face, Chiang Kai-shek will lose Quemoy, but without any important shooting. The psychological situation in the Old World is much too rewarding for the Communists to risk too far-reaching provocations in Asia. Europe—which, in spite of all fancy talk about the world's exotic regions remains, of course, the central strategic target of the current Communist attack—Europe is so conditioned to forgive all of Khrushchev's transgressions, and *never* to forget a single one of Mr. Dulles' spare firm words, that the Soviets must find the situation irresistible. For all it requires from them, to bring about the final fall of the West, is to provoke a little, to frighten a little—and then to lean back and wait for the tired Old World to cave in. An irreversible step by the Soviets towards an impatient showdown would be, in such a situation, an irreparable mistake on their part. A ten times larger investment in costs and risks would produce a ten times smaller result than a continuation of the clever cat-and-mouse play. A Hitler was too parochial, too amateurish, and too romantic to comprehend such a situation. But a Khrushchev (or whoever his successor may be at the next one of the irrelevant changes of the Bolshevik guard) is shrewd and knowing and realistic enough to enjoy all the minute niceties of western decline and fall. Nobody is in a hurry — particularly not those who are going places. Yes, this is an especially glorious autumn in Europe; and yet, it forebodes nothing but the chills of the huge Eastern glacier that is moving in on us.

No one knows exactly how it happened, but the French plebiscite over de Gaulle's new constitution has turned into a sad farce. Even a few months ago, there was, to be sure, no true spirit of rebirth to be felt in the land; yet French patriots had the distinct feeling that, with the General's ascent to power, France was signing a new lease on life. Four months have passed, four months devoted to nothing but the drafting of a new constitution; and now that the people are voting on it, indubitably accepting de Gaulle's prescription with a formidable and completely indifferent majority (the voting will take place two days after the dispatch of this "Survey"), now France is becoming aware that nothing has happened. The next President of the Republic will have considerable political power, and his name will be de Gaulle. So what? For the last four months, de Gaulle had *all* the power he wanted, far more, anyway, than the new constitution grants the next President; and he did not know what to do with it. Algeria was the fever in May, when de Gaulle emerged with the inexorable logic of necessity; and, at the time of voting on the new constitution, the same fever has risen dangerously near the lethal point. The Algerian situation, in all truth, is incomparably worse today than it was in May; but in May Frenchmen were allowed to hope that the advent of de Gaulle would mean a solution—while four months later little hope is left.

(Is De Gaulle That Smart?) . . .

Perhaps the General, who has gone through many a pregnancy of silence, has still a tremendous plan up his sleeve. But how much longer can he keep France in suspense? And if it only

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were suspense! Actually, it is a desperate boredom. At this point, nobody in France expects a magic turn of events. One simply waits for the next eruption of stark Algerian terror inside France; for the next diplomatic coup of the rebellious Algerian Government-in-Exile; for the next pointless gesture of the excitable French parachutists in Algeria. If the Fourth Republic died of "immobilism," the Fifth is born with it. It is also born under an ominous political constellation that no satirist of French customs could have invented with greater impudence: those politicians, whose overthrow seemed to France and General de Gaulle the most urgent task of the age in May, are the loudest drum-beaters for de Gaulle's new constitution in September. There must be a La Fontaine fable that has foreseen this situation of rascally mimicry (I vaguely remember it); but though good Frenchmen learn all the fables by heart, they are certainly falling for the course satirized in this one. The new President of France, Charles de Gaulle, slightly less powerful than was the incumbent Prime Minister, Charles de Gaulle, will have to rule through a political establishment that was despised by France's greatest counter-revolutionary, Charles de Gaulle, but saved itself by costuming in the vestments of France's frustrated savior, Charles de Gaulle. "It figures," as they say on Broadway. This is what happens if a counter-revolution has no greater desire than to step on nobody's feet; if "reasonableness" has replaced all spiritual and political passion; if the smooth motion of civilization's machinery is considered the highest, in fact the only, meaning of life. It has been said that, whenever Europe catches a cold, France sneezes. We have reached

a next and perhaps the last stage: whenever Europe falls in a coma, France gets rigid. [*We have friends, well informed on the situation in France, who feel that in this and an earlier SURVEY Mr. Schlamm has been unfair to de Gaulle. They believe that, rightly taking first things first, de Gaulle subordinated everything else during these recent months to the important objective of getting the new constitution accepted by the French people; and that once this basis of stability and continuing authority has been achieved, de Gaulle will turn with vigor, imagination, and unflinching anti-Communism to a solution of the problem in Algeria. Only time will tell whether Mr. Schlamm or these critics are correct.* EDITOR.]

* * *

Which They Use In Germany . . .

Germany, it seems, is now very much on Khrushchev's mind, precisely because everybody else stares into the waters of the Pacific. Washington's policy makers have still not learned that the Soviets usually mean to go *left* when they multiply pressures on the *right*; but most other people have caught up with the trick. At any rate, Moscow's recent note to Bonn seems to indicate an important new thrust into Europe; and I would not be in the least surprised if Germany were about to be inundated with slick Soviet offers to negotiate with Moscow a "peace treaty" and even "re-unification."

Is any one aware that the United States, while now exchanging Ambassadors with Bonn and having altogether in the world no better friend than Adenauer, is still at war with Germany? For, in the strict interpretation of international law, former belligerent foes remain in a state of war, even though they

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stop hostilities and sign all sorts of interim pacts, as long as they have not formally signed a peace treaty. It's thirteen years since the shooting stopped, but we still have not signed a peace treaty with Germany. Why? Because, incredible as it sounds, the United States Government still feels committed to the stipulations of the Potsdam Agreement of 1945; and that document of Allied surrender to Stalin prescribed that no peace treaty could even be negotiated with Germany without Soviet participation and approval. So the United States would not think of a peace treaty with West Germany. But Khrushchev does.

He not only thinks of it, he seems to be getting ready for practical measures. Out of the red sky, a note has been delivered in Bonn that expresses Soviet anxiety to attain a peace treaty with West Germany, provided the Bonn Government is willing to negotiate "re-unification" directly with the Communist Government in East Germany. This tie-up looks like a carefully chiselled tool of a whole new phase of Soviet diplomacy. Khrushchev has reasons to believe that the Bonn Government, exposed to a growing domestic pressure, will not be able to withstand the bait much longer. For years the Germans have been informed by us that they cannot get a peace treaty without Soviet approval; and if the Soviets now pledge their co-operation, and ask for nothing in exchange but a round-table conference with the East German regime — and a conference, to boot, that is meant to result in German "re-unification"! — then Adenauer will indeed have a tough time to get out of this one. He, of course, knows that the implied recognition of the legitimacy of the "other" Germany

would be the abdication of West German freedom; but there are limits even to Dr. Adenauer's political authority over his people. The Germans are becoming tired of the national wound in the East. For it is a wound that keeps oozing: wretched refugees are streaming into West Germany at the rate of a thousand a day. The Germans are also getting nervous about the risks of continued tension with the Soviet empire: the more they read about prospects of a war in the Pacific, the more anxious they are to come to terms with that explosive East.

To Bury Adenauer . . .

Adenauer, who possesses an uncanny instinct for the political overtones in his national orchestra, has already shown signs of "adjustment." At his party's recent congress in Kiel he spoke, for the first time in years, of "bright prospects" of a rapprochement with the Soviets. Nobody suspects him of stupidity; and if Adenauer all of a sudden plays Pollyana, he must be acting under considerable pressure. It is a pressure anybody who knows Germany can sense wherever he goes: these people seem all set for a soft sale. I, for one, still believe that Dr. Adenauer will yet outmaneuver the opposition and Khrushchev. But Khrushchev, on the other hand, unfortunately has exact information on Dr. Adenauer's age — by far the most interesting bit of intelligence the Soviets could have gathered in Europe. The Soviets, I repeat, are in no hurry: what is a year, or perhaps two, when the prize is no less than the "peaceful" sack of West Germany? All the Soviets have to do is to indoctrinate the Germans, even while Adenauer is still alive, that Moscow holds the only

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key to "re-unification in peace"; and then, at the latest when Adenauer is gone, just pick up the rewards. The newly worked-out theme will thus be the *Leitmotif* of next year's Soviet campaign in West Germany. And the chant, I am afraid, will become a hit. For no nation can forever resist the shrewd offers from the East if the West offers nothing at all — especially no firmness. The United States could have renounced the ignominious Potsdam Agreement years ago, signed its own peace treaty with Germany and reassured the Germans that the liberation of their eastern territories remains a major aim of United States policy. But we have done nothing of the kind. Let us, therefore, not complain when even Germans yield to the relentless Soviet drive; we may have finally convinced them, after all these years, that nothing in creation is as important as the comforts of "peace."

* * *

While We Bury Our Prestige

And Friends In The Middle East...

The sore in Beirut is festering into a dangerous gangrene. If the presence of United States Marines in Lebanon was a painful embarrassment from the beginning (because there was not the slightest intention in Washington to develop the natural conclusion from such sudden courage), it is now becoming a momentous scandal. Having first dispatched the Marines, and then even Mr. Murphy, the United States assumed responsibility for picking the successor to pro-western Lebanese President Chamoun. The whole world was invited to blame the United States for anything that would happen in Lebanon so long as our troops were there. And what did happen? A few days after the new President took over — the one Mr. Murphy

had selected —, the pro-Communist leader of the rebellion (the rebellion our troops were supposed to suppress!) became Prime Minister of Lebanon. He is not just pro-Communist — he was, a year ago, the only Lebanese "delegate" at Moscow's pompous Forty-Years Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution!

If there is in American history a worse case of mismanaging the nation's foreign policy, and ruining its prestige abroad, I do not know of it. The Lebanon adventure, I contend, was frivolous from the start, a desperately irresponsible improvisation, an act of immaturity for which even a young lieutenant would be cashiered. And what should be the proper course in the case of a Five-Star General? They are shooting again in Lebanon; worse than ever, they are quartering the last few friends of the West — and the United States Marines, bewildered hostages of Washington confusion, are the laughingstock of the world. Last year, when Sputnik put the Pentagon's blunders on the celestial map, the United States seemed to be awakened by the shock. But the Lebanon caper, I assure you, was a far greater blunder! In the case of Sputnik, the United States was caught short, and the whole world ridiculed our mismanaged might; but, at the same time, the whole world knew that the United States would soon repair the damage. In the Lebanon case, we rushed into the thicket out of our own volition — only to demonstrate that any two-bit Levantine rascal can pull our nose; and how could we possibly repair such a frightful loss of American dignity in the world? By sending United States Marines to Lebanon? But they are there *already* — and this is precisely our trouble! From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of

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Tripoli, the United States Marines have never been trained for what they are supposed to do in Lebanon — to cover their faces in shame.

* * *

Even The Vatican Takes For Granted . . .

Another Lebanese, but an infinitely civilized and humanly important person, has inconspicuously achieved world-wide prominence — Cardinal Gregorij Pjotr Agagianian, Patriarch of the Armenian-United Church of Lebanon that is the spiritual home of Lebanon's fifty thousand Catholics. Seemingly unconnected with the revolutionary events in his country, Cardinal Agagianian has risen to one of Christendom's towering positions; he has succeeded the late United States Cardinal Samuel Alphonse Stritch as Pro-Prefect of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, the Vatican's immense department of missionary activities. When Cardinal Stritch, only a few months ago, was singled out for this position, the whole world took notice of the fact that, for the first time in the history of the Church, an American had entered the innermost council of the Vatican. But, when after his tragic death the Lebanese Patriarch was chosen to succeed him, there was no comment on the extraordinary appointment. Yet it deserves the most serious attention. For behind Cardinal Agagianian's promotion is the momentous story of what may well be a historic change in Vatican policies.

Cardinal Agagianian's sponsor was the same old man who, quite openly, had opposed the appointment of Cardinal Stritch — the aged and revered Cardinal Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, Prefect of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, whom Cardinal Stritch was called

to relieve. Cardinal Biondi had of course no personal objection to Cardinal Stritch whom, on the contrary, he loved. But Cardinal Biondi was for the last decade the leader of those Italian Cardinals who, looking at the world-wide upheaval of the colored races, were growingly apprehensive about any further influence United States Catholicism might obtain at the Holy See. The Pope carefully considered Cardinal Biondi's warning — and still appointed Cardinal Stritch. But a few months later, when the problem presented itself again, Pope Pius XII assigned the factual leadership of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* to Cardinal Biondi's protégé—the non-American, non-European Patriarch of Lebanon's Catholic Church. What had happened in the meantime?

The Decline Of American Influence. . .

Well, in the meantime the world's situation had changed; America had lost, or rather had given up, its position of leadership. Worse still: there could be no further doubt that the "colonial revolutions," signified by Nasser's fantastic rise to global power, were overtaking the West by leaps and bounds. Now the Vatican is most certainly under no suspicion of favoring *any* kind of revolution; nor does it follow, like the United States Supreme Court, "the election results." But the Pope must guide a Church that insists on surviving the ages — a Church, therefore, that will adjust itself (without, of course, betraying dogma) to the power conditions of the mundane world. As long as there was a reasonable hope that the United States might yet live up to its responsibilities as the West's strongest power, the Pope remained unshaken in his profound sympathies with the western pos-

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ition; and he still is. But once the United States had visibly abdicated as the West's protagonist, the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, which must go on living with the peoples of Asia and Africa, had to come to terms. There is no reason yet to presume that Cardinal Agagianian is *anti-West*. The Church, in general, cannot be understood in the terms of strategic preferences. But one thing is clear: the appointment of the Lebanese Patriarch to one of the three or four most influential jobs in World Catholicism demonstrates that the Vatican, in its proverbial realism, has acknowledged the triumph of the "colonial revolutions" over the West.

It also demonstrates, by the way, the

falsehood of the wide-spread theorem of "economic determinism"—that the Vatican is in any important way swayed by fiscal considerations. American Catholicism supplies almost ninety percent of the funds on which the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* operates its missions in Asia and Africa. Yet, when the Vatican thought the time had come to regroup, Pope Pius XII acted as he was convinced he had to act. For much more important than the flow of United States dollars is the ominous tremor throughout the world that forebodes new ordeals for the Catholic Missions in the Orient. The Vatican is getting ready to survive in a world that the West seems to have lost beyond repair.

"REALISTS" ON RED CHINA

by

RODNEY GILBERT

The author of the following brief article, a working newspaperman all of his life, has spent a large part of the last forty years in the Far East, much of it in China. There are few men in America better qualified to appraise and interpret the information that seeps out endlessly from behind the Bamboo Curtain.

THE MOVEMENT IN THIS COUNTRY in favor of the recognition of Red China and of that criminal despotism's admission to the United Nations has tidal characteristics. It surges up and rolls in on us with seemingly irresistible weight. Then it hits a firm sea wall of opposition and, after making something of a splash, rolls out again. But it is never repelled for keeps by such adjurations from the sea wall as Congressional resolutions, or devastating denunciations by Secretary Dulles, or scathing comment by Assistant Secretary Wal-

ter Robertson, any more than was the tide that Canute addressed from his throne on the beach. It always comes back. And whether it comes quietly, just lipping and hissing at the foot of the wall, or with a roaring plunging threat to break the wall down at last, it always carries a new consignment of poisonous flotsam to leave on the beach as it slips out again.

Of late, the most insidious undercurrent of talk in favor of Red China's recognition has been to the effect that, no matter what the Mao regime's past

"Realists" On Red China

record may be, no matter how filthy their hands nor how scarlet their sins, the "realist" cannot go on ignoring their growing might and majesty. Haven't they a thoroughly modernized army of at least three million, with a couple of million more militiamen and other second-raters as a reservoir of replacements? Haven't they now the greatest jet air force in the Far East? Haven't they absolute and permanent mastery over six hundred million human beings—the world's greatest pool of competent and disciplined manpower for any purpose, military or economic? And haven't they made spectacular strides in the fields of communications and heavy industry?

The questioners do not wait then to learn whether one concedes all this or not. (And little of it would one concede without tagging on some devastating ifs and buts.) They hasten on with their demand to know how the "realistic" student of international affairs can exclude such a huge concentration of power, whether for good or evil, from formal consideration, when we are trying to work out some kind of a live-and-let-live adjustment of human relations without resort to war? The answer, of course, is that we do not rule it out of our consideration any more than Thirteenth Century Europe ruled the devastating power of Genghis Khan's Mongols out of their consideration. The Europeans even mentioned the Mongols in their prayer books. But that is by way of introduction.

For along this same line—the blowing up of Red China into a Macy parade monster—the American press has been effectually infiltrated with a most ingenious piece of hokum. It was a hint first. Then it was a suggestion.

Then it became, in many publications, an article of faith. It was to the effect that when Khrushchev abandoned his conciliatory attitude towards Tito and launched a tirade of abuse against him, Khrushchev did so reluctantly and only because Mao Tse-tung and gang insisted upon this change of attitude. That is what a tremendous force Red China is within the Red Empire today! A few years ago we thought of the "People's Republic of China" as a weak Soviet satellite. A year ago the "realists" had us persuaded that Red China was a full partner of Russia in the great "socialist" confederation. And now, behold! Mao Tse-tung, strutting his stuff where Kublai Khan, K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung used to strut theirs, actually and successfully ordered the Kremlin to blast Tito as a traitor and a renegade from the "socialist" camp! How can a "realist" hope to exclude such a mighty force from the company of the world's great powers? This is the foul brand of flotsam that the last tide, before the present one, threw up on the beach at the foot of our sea wall; and the Crypto-Reds, the Pinks and the "Liberals" have been collecting it and displaying it to the American people with great gusto ever since.

Now I want to tell the reader what the truth of the relationship between the Kremlin and Peiping is and how likely it might be that Mao Tse-tung, or whoever is actually running that puppet show in Peiping, would wire Moscow to crack down on Tito. This relationship is such that if Khrushchev, at this writing, or whoever has succeeded him if he has been dragged out and shot when this appears in print, should pick up his phone in the Kremlin, call Mao Tse-tung, or the latest

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Kremlin appointee to his job, and tell him to "hop it here fast," Mao would hop it—fast indeed. Also, if the big fellow in the Kremlin, whoever he might be, were to call the top man in Peiping, whoever he might be (and that is now in doubt), and give the order, "Let's have a red-hot blast against Tito, pronto," that red-hot blast would be on the wires and also on the Peiping radio within an hour. Why? Because any Chinese Red's quibble about the swift execution of such instructions would mean that puppet's prompt retirement, under orders from the local Soviet authorities, into hungry obscurity, if not worse.

Let's clean this up briefly, without sweeping any of it under the rug. Red China is desperately poor. For what it has had from Soviet Russia in the way of factory equipment, arms, planes and what not, it owes raw materials which it cannot deliver without promoting more starvation among its rampantly hostile rural millions. The great army, re-equipped throughout with Soviet Russian weapons, is now as dependent on Moscow for parts and ammunition as the American-equipped Nationalist units were in 1948-49 when we let them down. Moscow can let down Red China's entire military establishment tomorrow with a shrug of its cold shoulders. With the whole Chinese landscape swarming with Soviet Russian advisers, technicians and the like, Moscow can favor one military factotum and starve another; and so, by favoring complacent stooges, it can tell its figureheads in Peiping who owns the army and who doesn't.

Right now it looks much as though that majestic international potentate, Mao Tse-tung, has been assigned the

role of a worshipful mud Buddha, while most of his big military chiefs have been retired and the armed forces are in the hands of Chou En-lai and his associates. Admittedly, it just looks that way. But very certainly Moscow, dispenser of arms and ammunition and of all the machinery that has gone into the much vaunted new industries, and with a fat sheaf of Red China's promises to pay in hand, can make it that way any time that Peiping fails to execute orders.

Just why Red China is in horribly bad economic shape is not part of this writer's present job to explain. But when the Red despotism, once so proud of its huge population figures, is so desperately scared by them that it advises women to avoid pregnancy by swallowing live tadpoles, and when it shifts vast numbers of its students into state serfdom to replace the runaways from the collective farms, there isn't any doubt about the trouble. So, having hitched its wagon to the Red star, what can the regime do but turn to the Kremlin and beg—as Mao begged very humbly indeed when he went to Moscow last fall?

Since the advocates of recognition of Red China have abandoned all efforts to show that the Mao regime deserves anything on its merits but a war of extinction, and have appealed to "realism" to justify traffic with a monumental force, however evil, let's ask them to prove just how monumental it is. Let's ask them, by calling witnesses and producing evidence which anybody can believe, to show that it amounts to anything but a subservient Muscovite satrapy. And then let's talk about the length of the spoon that one needs to sup with the devil.

BEWARE THE EX-COMMUNIST

by

COLM BROGAN

In the United States such ex-Communists as Louis Budenz, Elizabeth Bentley, Whittaker Chambers, and a dozen more whose names are now almost household words, have earned a huge measure of gratitude from the American people. They made the painful reappraisal of their attitudes about life, to which this author refers. They have given tremendous and determined effort toward defeating the conspiracy, the foulness and purposes of which they learned so well through personal experience. But these are the rare exceptions among a very large number of exhibitionists, liars, and secret Moscow agents now advertising themselves as ex-Communists. Colm Brogan writes, about the breed in England, a most interesting report which has a lesson for ourselves.

Mr. Brogan's article in the London News Chronicle last June, **LET'S SEND OUR POOR RELATIONS TO UNCLE NIKITA**, created quite a stir. Its basic theme was a very simple suggestion to the United States Government concerning foreign aid. Since the "liberals" are so sure that the Soviets are using their foreign aid much more successfully than is America, Mr. Brogan argued, the answer is not for us to step up our foreign aid still further, as these same "liberals" contend. The proper course is for the United States to admit failure to win friends and influence people by handouts, and to send all begging nations to Uncle Nikita Khrushchev, who has been so successful at it. Then let Moscow garner the resentment, and go broke, instead of Washington. But, as Mr. Brogan feared would be the case, the enthusiasm for his idea at the White House was hardly noticeable.

Although Colm Brogan was one of the most popular commentators of the British Broadcasting Corporation, until the fact that he was anti-Communist made him "controversial," he is best known as a newspaper columnist and as a contributor to conservative periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic. We are glad to welcome him again to our pages.

I DON'T KNOW what kind of play American newspapers gave to the Aldermaston March some months ago. Perhaps they treated it with the silence which would have been a good evaluation of its moral worth. But as a strictly social demonstration it was interesting indeed.

The March was a parade from Lon-

don to Aldermaston, the American nuclear weapons base, in protest against the H-bomb in particular and against American bases in general. The men who ran the affair needed no lessons from anybody in the arts of publicity, and it had lavish headline treatment in this country.

The marchers themselves were as

Beware The Ex-Communist

motley a collection as you could hope to find. There were quite genuine pacifists plodding humbly and dumbly along, to make their protest against life as it is. They are the heirs of a long tradition, entirely futile but not dishonorable. Then there were crackpots, many of them clerical, who could be guaranteed to lend their aid to any cause, provided only it is sufficiently silly. And there were political hucksters touting their own wares. The *Manchester Guardian* reported one group marching to the tune of Tannenbaum. It failed to mention that Tannenbaum is the tune of The Red Flag.

But plain exhibitionists provided the largest contingent. One man who had taken quite a prominent part dropped out at the first pub and was seen no more. A young man and a young woman dressed in a caricature of Victorian clothing put on a comic and well photographed dance in front of the Albert Memorial. Thus they gave their burning witness and delivered their souls. The day, it should be noted, was Good Friday.

The exhibitionists were almost all people of middle-class background and affected *Don Quixote* manism. They were intellectuals, handicapped by not having any intellect. They were would-be poets and painters nobody could take seriously. One observer unkindly remarked at the time: "Their rejection slips are showing." The March gave them a chance at last to get into the limelight. The men with their long beards and the women with their deliberately slovenly clothes were a pathetic crew, perfect raw material for any political adventurer who could offer them even the delusion of importance and collective power.

However, interesting as these people were as a kind of walking social documentary, the most significant thing about the March was the presence of two opposing sets of Communists. There were the orthodox Communists, walking the Party line as they always do. But there were also the dissident Communists, who had left the Party or been expelled from it for disagreement over some particular issue, notably Hungary. It was the dissidents who set the pace. They were the real mischief-makers, calling for militant action against the American bases at once, and taunting the orthodox for alleged timidity and ineffectiveness.

How Do Ex-Communists Act? . . .

Unintentionally, these nonconformists played quite a useful part. For they began to cure some people of an innocent delusion that a man who leaves the Communists Party has ipso facto ceased to be a Communist. The subsequent activities of these gentlemen in fomenting wanton and destructive strikes has helped to drive the lesson home. They left the Party because it was not Communist enough. Their complete freedom from any authoritative control gives them a total liberty of action which makes them doubly dangerous. In the past ten years there have been five thousand strikes in British docks, of which the ex-Communists have been the most frequent and effective instigators.

When the Minister of Housing tried this past spring to address a public meeting in the London borough of Saint Pancras, chairs were thrown and the platform was rushed. The leader of the wreckers was Councillor Lawrence, at the time head of the Labor Party

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in the borough Council. He is an ex-Communist. It was this same Lawrence who ran up the Red flag on the borough hall on May Day and kindly said he hoped he would soon see it flying over Buckingham Palace as well.

The Saint Pancras demonstration did perhaps more than anything else to induce a fair number of thoughtful people to take a second look at the typical "ex-Communist." Too many people over here have believed, as the *New York Times* believes, that a Communist Party which is numerically small must be of insignificant effect. This is the fallacy which has completely muddled the minds of men like Sir Stephen King-Hall, who wrote a book recommending passive resistance in the face of a Soviet occupation of Britain. He assumed that, for lack of sympathizers, the Russians would be compelled to run the country almost entirely by their own men; and that these men, faced by the unanimous hostility of the British people, would begin to lose their own faith in Communism. It was a variation of an old theme, "We needs must love the highest when we see it."

Among many other enormous errors, King-Hall presumed to judge the power of the British Communists Party by the size of its declared membership. In fairness it must be said that there are other people who commit the opposite though less dangerous error of thinking that the Party bosses are indifferent to the size of their membership. On the contrary, the failure of their popular appeal is a continual source of frustration and even humiliation. The Kremlin hardly tries to conceal its contempt for the "mass party of the workers," which has a total membership smaller than the population of an insignificant

county town. For that reason the British Party was kept for years under the arrogant and patronizing tutelage of the French Party. The Communist bosses have their full share of politicians' vanity, and they do not appreciate repeated electoral rebuffs. Recently they contested a Parliamentary by-election. They made a tremendous fuss about their massive challenge to the two bourgeois parties—and scored 812 votes out of something like fifty thousand. Nobody could enjoy that kind of experience.

It would therefore be wrong to imagine that the bosses would not gladly build up a far bigger open membership if they could, if only to improve their own standing in Moscow. But this is a matter of political precedence and personal vanity. The bosses are well aware that the Party's power would not be increased if they had ten times as many declared members as they have. What they do have is a very large reservoir of actual or potential support outside their official membership.

How Many Are There? . . .

How is the reservoir accumulated? The British Party loses one quarter of its membership in every normal year, quite apart from a year of convulsions, such as 1956. The Party has been in existence for thirty-six years, with a membership which began with a few thousand, climbed to forty thousand or more, and then for a few years—when infatuation with Russia swept the country—stood at nearly one hundred thousand. When the decline set in, membership sank again to the neighborhood of forty thousand and, after Hungary, still further to twenty-

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five thousand or thereabouts. If in each year the Party sheds a quarter of its membership (the bosses privately refer to this loss as "the turnover"), it seems a reasonable estimate that the number of "ex-Communists" is between eight and ten times the number of declared members, and this estimate takes no account of the secret membership.

How Firm Is The "Ex"? . . .

How many of the former members have wholly and genuinely abandoned the faith? Only those who profess to know the heart of man would try to give even the roughest answer to this question, but I have no doubt that the genuine and wholehearted converts away from *Communism* are a fairly small minority.

For some, abandonment of membership was a matter of the most blatant expediency. The first large-scale desertions came when the Labor Party said nobody could belong to that party and also to the Communist Party. It is not to be doubted that some Communists who held important posts were instructed to turn their cards in because they would destroy their usefulness for Communism if they were expelled from the Labor Party. Even more resigned voluntarily to protect their own careers, but there is absolutely no reason to believe that they had any change of heart. Others again resorted to secret membership, and some of them eventually found themselves in Parliament as Labor members. Once they were in Parliament, they gradually worked themselves out of the Communist Party, and the Party was quite willing to let them go, for it had them by the short hairs. They could be ruined if their former secret membership was dis-

closed, and thus they could be relied upon to dance to the Communist tune.

Indeed, many of the ex-members (and by no means only in Parliament) are much more useful to the Party than when they were known members. Most of them drift away without making any positive decision. One man discovers that the Party's demands on his time and his money are too heavy. As likely as not that man is ashamed of his own weakness and is only too anxious to convince the comrades that his heart is still with them. Another man gets married and finds that his wife is not content to take second place to his political duties. He, also, will be eager to demonstrate his fundamental loyalty.

Such men as these are very useful. One of them goes to a trade-union or Labor meeting to speak in favor of what is in effect a Communist policy. He announces boldly (what everybody knows already) that he was once a member of the Communist Party; but that he left it because he wanted to call his soul his own. This manly confession of previous error is always a sure sympathy-catcher. But, he adds, we must not make the mistake of adopting an attitude of blind anti-Communism. We must judge a policy on its merits and not reject it simply because it has Communist support. Misguided and wrong-headed as the Communists undoubtedly are, it is merely stupid to say that they can never be right on any particular issue. As an anti-Communist he asks his audience if they really want the Communists to steal the credit for a useful proposal. That, he insists, would be playing right into the Communists' hands. He sits down to respectful applause—having played right into the Communists' hands.

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Such men as these are merely out on ticket-of-leave and their servility can be guaranteed. The same is true of the men who ostensibly leave the party because they would have to quit their positions of authority if they were known to be members. A trade-union friend of mine attended a Labor Party meeting where he saw a number of fairly prominent people of whom he was deeply suspicious. While the meeting was on he took the risk of slipping out into the hallway and dipping into their overcoat pockets. He found three Communist Party membership cards. Careless fellows.

If the party shows a high degree of tolerance towards such alleged deserters as these, it is scarcely surprising. There are others again whom they are able to control by means of blackmail. One man may know that it is in the power of the Party to break up his marriage if he speaks out of turn, and another may know that the Party could get him fired from his job.

How Did They Become "Ex"? . . .

The case of those who have no reason to conceal their former (or present) membership is highly interesting and I am convinced that it deserves a profound psychological study. The most interesting of all are those who were expelled. A very able and active Communist I know went to a Party dance with his wife and found that nobody would even speak to them. He took his wife back to the house where he lodged with a fellow Communist who had been best man at their wedding. He described what had happened, with a mixture of astonishment and rage; and his landlord immediately told him, apologetically but firmly, that he would have to

leave next morning. The landlord knew at once that word had gone through the grapevine that his friend was now suspect and it would therefore be political death to have anything more to do with him.

The interesting part of the story is this. Headquarters were right. Mr. X had lost his Communist faith without knowing it—but headquarters knew. They knew, just as Al Capone knew when a gangster was beginning to lose his nerve, even though the gangster himself would have sincerely and indignantly denied it.

Nevertheless, in this case headquarters made a great tactical mistake. Once Mr. X got over the shock and examined himself, he became a tireless and highly effective anti-Communist worker. However, I think his case was less typical than that of Mr. Y, who was also drummed out. The circumstances of Y's expulsion must be judged as especially filthy, even by Communist standards. He and his brother were members of the same Communist branch. One day his brother asked him casually if he meant to go to the special branch meeting called for that night. Mr. Y had not been notified of the meeting. At first he thought that the secretary had merely made a mistake by forgetting him. But, on thinking it over, he felt suspicious, and with reason. The secretary had indeed made a mistake, but it was the mistake of not realizing that the two members with the same very common surname were related. It was intended that the meeting should be held without Y's knowledge.

Mr. Y slipped quietly into the back of the hall after the meeting had begun and heard the chairman, a well-known

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Communist, solemnly warn the members that they must expect a very severe shock. There was a traitor in their ranks, working to seduce and corrupt the young members; and the traitor was none other than Y. He then called upon a young member to give his testimony.

The young man spoke for a long time, giving verbatim reports of conversations in which he alleged Y had tried to make him a Trotskyite saboteur. His accusations were met with cries of horror. The chairman was well pleased and asked, as a matter of form, if there were any questions. Then Y rose from the back of the hall and said he had just one question to ask of the accuser. "Look at me," he said, "and tell me who I am." The young man, perhaps flushed with his success, answered rather pettishly, "How should I know? I've never seen you before." Nevertheless, Y was out.

It would seem likely that a man made the victim of so detestable a trick on the part of a friend would be stung into the most violent hostility to Communism and all things Communist. Not so. More than a year later I asked Y how he felt. He made this revealing answer. "I'm an ideological Displaced Person. I can't really think like a Communist any more, but I can't think any other way at all." At the time he gave me this answer he had just come back from a friendly call on one of the most celebrated Communists in Britain.

And Is The "Ex" Just A Part Of EXpediency? . . .

When a man submits to some years of discipline and indoctrination, Communism *does* something to him, and it

cannot be undone unless the man himself makes a painful and total reappraisal, not only of his political beliefs but also of his whole approach to life. The men who leave the Party over a personal quarrel, a dispute over some particular issue, or for reasons of their own personal convenience, are quite unlikely to make this reappraisal. Yet these are the great majority of those who do leave. Ideologically they are still more or less on call.

During the war a well-known poet told me quite casually that he had twice been expelled from the Party. The first time he appealed straight to Moscow and won. The second time he didn't bother and was out of the Party and perfectly happy to remain out. But at the time when the suppression of the Hungarian rising was bringing execration on the Party and all its works, he ostentatiously rejoined. His return was, of course, heavily advertised; and by staying out of the Party for more than ten years he had proved far more useful than if he had remained a member all that time.

If the future should offer the possibility of a Communist coup in Britain, how many others would rush to return to the fold, or do the dirty work, on orders, from outside?

I am no pessimist about the future, but it is worse than foolish to underestimate the extent of the Communist power, actual and potential. What I have said about Britain must certainly be true of every other country where the small numbers of the Party membership deceive people into imagining that the danger hardly exists. And that goes for the United States, I am sure.

Platform For Patriotic Americans

This statement of Americanist principles was formulated in August, 1958, by a small hardworking committee of which Robert B. Dresser was chairman. We commend it to all our readers for their careful consideration.

FOREWORD

Our nation is in grave danger—

- (1) from within, by the ever-growing menace of Socialism and its twin brother Communism;
- (2) from without, by the danger of eventual destruction by Soviet Russia, or by absorption into a Soviet-controlled World Government.

We therefore submit the following
PLATFORM

1. States Rights

There must be returned to the States, or to the people, the rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities which have been usurped by the Federal Government.

2. Labor

The Anti-Trust Laws must be applied equally to all monopolies, whether of business or of labor. Every individual's right to join or not to join a labor union without affecting his employment and his right to work for an employer willing to hire him, the right of employees and employers to bargain and contract as they wish, and the right of an employee to quit when he will, if not under contract, must be protected. Mass picketing, rioting, terrorism and all other forms of violence and coercion,

secondary boycotts and industry-wide bargaining must be prohibited.

3. Spending

There must be a drastic reduction in Federal spending, and the Federal budget must be balanced. Between 1939 and 1951 inflation, caused primarily by unbalanced budgets, cost the owners of bank deposits, life insurance policies, and United States Savings Bonds alone more than \$300 billion. The total of such losses is increasing.

4. Taxation

Following the course prescribed by Karl Marx in his Communist Manifesto outlining the means to be used in destroying the private capitalistic system, our Federal Government imposes heavy progressive income, death and gift taxes. At the very least the heavy progressive rate features of our income tax laws can and must be eliminated without impairing the power of Congress to raise needed revenue, and the States must be given the exclusive right to impose death and gift taxes. Such a change in our tax laws would over the years increase the wealth of the people, assist greatly in saving our free enterprise system, help free the States and the people from Federal domination, and aid in preserving our system of constitutional government. To make these changes enduring, an amendment to the Constitution should be adopted.

Platform For Patriotic Americans

5. Government Competition With Private Industry

The use by government of taxpayers' money and government credit to engage in business in competition with private enterprise must be stopped.

6. Housing, Education and Medicine

Aid in such matters as housing and education is not the function of the Federal government. It leads eventually to Federal control and must be stopped. We are also unalterably opposed to the socialization or communization of medicine, with its consequent degradation of the medical profession and the lowering of public health.

7. Confiscation Of Property

The right to own, hold, use and dispose of all property honestly acquired is a vital human right, and must be respected. We are opposed to the direct or indirect confiscation of the property or income of any individual or group through excessive taxation, price or rent control, or otherwise.

8. Agriculture

We are unalterably opposed to the regimentation of farms and farmers favored by government planners. Farmers, like all other American citizens, should be free from government control and coercion. We recognize the great importance of agriculture to our economy and the necessity of providing an orderly return to a free market generally.

9. Immigration

Indiscriminate and unlawful immigration cannot be tolerated. The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act must be preserved and enforced. It is in the interest of American workers that competition from this source be limited.

10. Foreign Trade Agreements

Under our Constitution the Congress and not the Executive has the power to impose tariffs. The present Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act in disregard of the Constitution delegates this power to the Executive and enables him arbitrarily to destroy an American industry. We demand its repeal.

We are unalterably opposed to this country's being a member of or a party to the International Trade Organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or any other international organization or compact, where such action might result in the surrender to a world bureaucracy of fundamental powers over our own economy.

American industry and its wage-earners must be protected against the ruinous competition of low-wage foreign countries and of countries whose industries are subsidized by American foreign aid.

11. Foreign Aid

Billions of dollars of the taxpayers' money have been and are still being given away to foreign countries, the principal effect of which has been to maintain the socialist governments of these countries in power and to prevent

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the balancing of our Federal budget. Further foreign aid should be confined to limited assistance, preferably by way of loans and not by grants, to proven friendly countries, principally for essential military purposes which are in the interest of the United States.

12. Foreign Policy

For some years past our foreign policy has been against the best interest of the United States, and has caused this country irreparable harm. Our shameful betrayal of Nationalist China led to the Korean War, with its 150,000 American casualties, and our continued appeasement of our Communist enemies will inevitably cause still further injury to this country and endanger our continued existence as a free nation. We should without delay terminate diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and her satellite nations. We should withdraw from the United Nations and demand the removal of its headquarters and all of its agencies from American soil.

13. Treaty-making Power

We favor the adoption of the original Bricker Amendment in order to prevent the over-riding of our Constitution and our domestic law and our entry into a World Government, either by executive agreement or by the mere exercise of the treaty-making power which requires action only by the President and the Senate. We demand a re-examination of all existing treaties and executive

agreements and the rescinding of all improper ones.

14. National Defense

It is essential to our survival that we maintain superiority over Soviet Russia in the air and in the matter of atomic missiles. This superiority is being seriously threatened.

15. Communism and Socialism

Communism must be pitilessly exposed, all conspirators striving to overthrow our government must be deported or imprisoned, and the march toward socialism and eventual communism must be stopped.

16. Preservation Of The Constitution

The Constitution with its Bill of Rights must be preserved, and all attempts to violate it by legislation, usurpation or evasion must be opposed.

We submit the foregoing platform to our fellow citizens for their consideration and invite those individuals and organizations who agree with it in whole or in the main to aid in securing its adoption.

August 18, 1958

Robert B. Dresser, *Chairman*
Merwin K. Hart
Earl Harding
Edward A. Rumely
Percy L. Greaves, Jr.

As of September 12, 1958, this platform had been publicly endorsed, with the reservations noted, by the following community and national leaders in the fight for Americanism.

Platform For Patriotic Americans

LIST OF ENDORSERS — SEPTEMBER 12, 1958

- Rob Roy, Alexander, Cleveland, Ohio
 F. J. Anderson, St. Paul, Minn.
 Thomas H. Anderson, Miami, Fla.
 A. E. Armstrong, Three Rivers, Mich.
 A. L. Arpin, Crowley, La.
- ¹ David A. Baldwin, Concord, Mass.
² John U. Barr, New Orleans, La.
 Serge Belosselsky, Ipswich, Mass.
 A. W. Benkert, New York, N. Y.
 E. M. Biggers, Houston, Tex.
 T. P. Black, Quincy, Ill.
 Col. Lucian D. Booth, USA Ret., Roanoke, Va.
- ¹ Spruille Braden, New York, N. Y.
 Elliot Broadbent, Saylesville, R. I.
 W. A. Bruce, Fort Smith, Ark.
- ⁴ Mary D. Cain, Summit, Mass.
 H. L. Coble, Greensboro, N. C.
 H. F. Collins, Rockford, Ill.
- ¹³ Donald J. Cowling, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Austin Crabbs, Davenport, Iowa
 Constance G. Dall, New York, N. Y.
 Albro N. Dana, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Ralph E. Davis, Los Angeles, Calif.
 Frank DeGanahl, New York, N. Y.
 Lt. Gen. P. A. delValle USMC Ret., Elkridge, Md.
- ⁸ Carl P. Dick, Athens, N. Y.
 Bella V. Dodd, New York, N. Y.
 Norman Dodd, New York, N. Y.
 David R. Dunlap, Mobile, Ala.
 C. W. Durbrow, San Francisco, Calif.
 Floyd W. Estes, Lansing, Mich.
 William S. Evatt, Columbus, Ohio
 Harry T. Everingham, Chicago, Ill.
- ² Frank M. Farris, Jr., Nashville, Tenn.
 David Fasken, Ross, California
 Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, USA Ret., Washington, D. C.
 Addison B. Freeman, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Vice Admiral Charles S. Freeman, USN, Ret., New York, N. Y.
- ² Hovey T. Freeman, Providence, R. I.
 Orville C. Gass, M.D., Chattanooga, Tenn.
 J. H. Gipson, Sr., Caldwell, Idaho
 Norman J. Gould, Seneca Falls, N. Y.
 Mark Granite, Lancaster, N. H.
 John F. C. Green, D.D., McKeesport, Pa.
- ¹³ Harry A. Gregg, Greenfield, N. H.
 Louise Graham Harding, New York, N. Y.
 W. Harnischfeger, Milwaukee, Wis.
 A. G. Heinsohn, Jr., Sevierville, Tenn.
 Will W. Henry, Portland, Oregon
 Paul J. Herold, New York, N. Y.
- ⁴ V. B. Hitchins, Boston, Mass.
¹ George B. Howell, Tampa, Fla.
- S. M. Johnston, Mobile, Ala.
 Charles B. Jordan, Minneapolis, Minn.
 B. Kesselheim, Billings, Mont.
 Joseph S. Kimmel, Sr., Davenport, Iowa
 K. K. Knickerbocker, Crozet, Va.
 Knoxville Journal, Knoxville, Tenn.
 J. Bracken Lee, Salt Lake City, Utah
 W. Turner Lewis, Racine, Wis.
 Mrs. Roy N. Lotspeich, Knoxville, Tenn.
 Ralph R. Lounsbury, Montclair, N. J.
 Norman D. MacLeod, Kenyon, R. I.
 Clarence E. Manion, South Bend, Ind.
- ² William Logan Martin, Birmingham, Ala.
 Frederick A. McAlpine, Saylesville, R. I.
 George C. McKay, Battle Creek, Mich.
 H. F. McKay, Cincinnati, Ohio
 W. Raymond McKenzie, M.D., Baltimore, Md.
- ¹ Robert H. Montgomery, Boston, Mass.
 C. Edw. Murray, Jr., Trenton, N. J.
 Hiram D. Newton, San Diego, Calif.
 Ward Orsinger, San Antonio, Tex.
 James Oviatt, Los Angeles, Calif.
 W. A. Parish, Houston, Tex.
 Roscoe Peacock, Naples, N. Y.
 Albert Penn, Goshen, Ind.
 Rear Admiral Paulus P. Powell, USN, Ret., New York, N. Y.
- George R. Ramsbottom, Pawtucket, R. I.
 Kenneth D. Robertson, Jr., Boston, Mass.
 Dr. Elwood A. Rowsey, Park City, Ky.
 H. H. Scaff, New York, N. Y.
 J. R. Schenken, M.D., Omaha, Nebr.
 Berthold T. D. Schwarz, M.D., Montclair, N.J.
 Frank S. Shy, Warwick, R. I.
 George E. Sinkinson, Providence, R. I.
 Adolph Skinner, Nashville, Tenn.
 George Gregory Smith, New Bedford, Mass.
 Robert B. Snowden, Hughes, Ark.
 Lt. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, USAF, Ret., Winter Park, Fla.
- Edwin S. S. Sunderland, New York, N. Y.
 Paul H. Talbert, Beverly Hills, Fla.
 Ora A. Taylor, South Orange, N. J.
- ² W. B. Taylor, Jr., Chicago, Ill.
 Kenneth S. Templeton, Chicago, Ill.
 Homer Tomlinson, Fort Worth, Tex.
 T. H. Tracy, New York, N. Y.
 J. C. Towle, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Theodore Watson, New York, N. Y.
 (with reservations)
- George E. West, Atlanta, Georgia
² Alice Widener, New York, N. Y.
 Edwin L. Wiegand, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 Major Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, USA, Ret., Washington, D. C.

¹ Reservation as to Item 10 in its present form.

² Reservation as to Item 12 in its present form.

⁸ Reservation as to Item 11 in its present form.

⁴ Reservation as to Item 4 in its present form.

⁶ Reservation as to Item 13 in its present form.

A Review Of The News

by

HUBERT KREGELOH

In September, 1958 . . .

→ While British newspapers have frequently reprimanded the United States for its racial troubles, London was the scene of several violent anti-Negro demonstrations. In Parliament there were demands for legislation to rescind unrestricted immigration to the United Kingdom from areas of the British Commonwealth.

→ The crisis over the Chinese offshore islands of the Quemoy and Matsu groups held by the Nationalists continued. Heavy shelling from Red mainland artillery created a grave supply problem on Quemoy, in spite of some escort service provided by the U.S. Seventh Fleet. Washington declared unequivocally that the United States would fight, if necessary, to aid the Nationalists in defending the offshore islands. And in Moscow, Khrushchev warned that Russia would treat an American "attack" on Red China as an attack on herself. But on September 15, the ambassadors to Poland from Washington and Peiking opened talks on the Formosa Straits crisis. On the last day of the month, both President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles indicated that their earlier tough attitude had collapsed, that they were willing to "compromise," and might even force Chiang Kai-shek to make concessions to the Reds.

→ For the last time, Maine voted in September. In a traditionally Republican state, the GOP took a licking—in-

dicative, most observers felt, of more of the same to come in November. Only one Republican U.S. Representative survived the Democratic sweep. GOP Gubernatorial candidate Horace A. Hildreth, a former governor, was defeated by Democrat Clinton A. Clauson. For the first time, Maine voters elected a Democrat to the U.S. Senate. Edmund S. Muskie, the forty-four year old present second-term governor, defeated Frederick G. Payne, who sought re-election. Payne, a "modern" Republican, had admitted accepting gifts from Boston industrialist Bernard Goldfine.

→ In the Florida primaries (where Democratic nomination means election) conservative incumbent Senator Holland comfortably defeated former Senator Claude Pepper, an ultra-liberal leftwinger, who sought a comeback.

→ Budget chief Maurice H. Stans predicted a deficit for the current fiscal year of more than \$12 billion. Ignoring entirely the possibility of government economy, Stans suggested an increase in the federal gasoline tax and another raise of postal rates to narrow the gap.

→ In the integration crisis, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously denied the Little Rock (Arkansas) school board's request for a delay in desegregation at Central High, and instead ordered immediate integration. At the end of the month, the people of Little Rock had voted overwhelmingly

A Review Of The News

against integration, Governor Orval E. Faubus was seeking to turn the city's four high schools into segregated private institutions, while the federal government was maneuvering to thwart this intention. The schools had not reopened. The New Bedford (Massachusetts) Standard-Times disclosed that Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter served for ten years as a legal adviser to the National Association for Advancement of Colored People. The court of which he is a member has ruled in recent years in favor of NAACP in numerous cases in which the organization was a litigant.

→ In New Jersey, in a nightmarish and probably never-to-be-explained accident, a Jersey Central commuter train roared through an open drawbridge and plunged fifty feet into Newark Bay. An estimated forty persons were killed and over twenty injured. In view of the presence of two engineers, several signals, and automatic derailing devices, it was the accident which "could not happen."

→ Walter Reuther got down to business in negotiations with the automobile manufacturers for a new contract. He applied his customary strategy of singling out one of the "Big Three" (in this case Ford) for concentrated initial assault. The three-year contract reached with Ford (setting the pattern for the industry) gave the United Auto Workers substantial new benefits. Both Ford and the U.A.W. expressed themselves as satisfied and said the agreement would have no inflationary effects. But the hard-pressed buyers noted that the price of Ford cars would again be raised up to one hundred dollars per vehicle.

→ In the America's cup race classic (sailing) off Newport, Rhode Island, the United States "Columbia" handily defeated the British challenger, "Sceptre." Briggs Cunningham was skipper of the "Columbia."

→ In a radio and television address to the nation, Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams, compromised by his admitted acceptance of gifts and favors worth thousands of dollars from Boston industrialist Bernard Goldfine, announced his resignation. President Eisenhower appointed as his successor Maj. Gen. Wilton B. Persons (Retired).

→ On September 28, the people of France and her overseas territories voted in a record turnout overwhelmingly in support of the new Constitution proposed for a Fifth Republic by Premier Charles de Gaulle, (The vote was close to eighty per cent "oui" in all). The vote, also a significant expression of confidence in de Gaulle's administration since last June, was a serious setback to the Communists, who had opposed it. It was also a setback for the Algerian Nationalists. For although the Nationalists had threatened Moslems who would participate in the referendum, the Algerian vote in support of the new Constitution was surprisingly large.

→ On the last day of the month it was announced that the Soviets had exploded at least two nuclear devices of very great power. One recalls that in March of this year the Moscow government gained a world-wide propaganda victory by announcing that it had unilaterally decided to halt all further nuclear tests.

B U L L E T S

One morning, oh! so early, my beloved,
my beloved,
All the birds were singing blithely, as if
never they would cease—

* * *
Jean Ingelow

Happy the people whose annals are
tiresome.

* * *
Montesquieu

Home is the place, where when you
have to go there,
They have to take you in.

* * *
Robert Frost

I'm very fond of the human race. All
my family have belonged to it and some
of my wife's family, too.

* * *
J. Wallace Hamilton

When all else fails, try reading direc-
tions.

* * *
Capper's Weekly

Nowadays if you want to relax you've
got to work at it.

* * *
Francis O. Walsh

The mountaineer put a silencer on his
shotgun because his daughter wanted
a quiet wedding.

* * *
Old American News

Beware the man who says he has an
open mind. He usually has a mouth to
match it.

* * *
Mil Hollingsworth

There is no great concurrence be-
tween learning and wisdom.

* * *
Francis Bacon

A successful politician is a man who
can rock the boat himself and persuade
everybody else that there is a terrible
storm at sea.

* * *
Irving S. Olds

In time of peace the children bury
their parents; in time of war the parents
bury their children.

*Croesus, According to Herodotus,
According to Rodney Gilbert*
* * *

Man is the only animal that blushes.
Or needs to.

* * *
Mark Twain

The doctor told your editor, when he
became fifty, to watch his stomach. So
he got it out front where he could.

* * *
And Please Pass The Potatoes

Want ad: Farmer, age 38, wishes to
wed a woman around 30 who owns a
tractor. Please enclose picture of tractor.

* * *
Who Said Romance Was Dead?

The devil is the father of lies. But he
neglected to patent the idea, and the
business now suffers from too much
competition.

* * *
A Competitor

If we do not restore the Institution
of Property, we cannot escape restoring
the Institution of Slavery.

* * *
Hilaire Belloc

The people never give up their liber-
ties except under some delusion.

* * *
Edmund Burke

"She made home happy!" Those few
words I read

Within a churchyard, written on a
stone.

* * *
Henry Coyle

One day, with life and heart,
Is more than time enough to find a
world.

* * *
James Russell Lowell

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT . . .

The Middle East

KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN and his close followers are probably the most bitter anti-Zionists in all that western stretch of Asia which we strangely call the "Middle East." If Gamal Abdel Nasser really were an Arab patriot, dedicated to that rising "Arab nationalism" of which hatred of Israel is so important a catalyst, he would undoubtedly have no more devoted an ally and supporter than the King of Jordan. But Hussein has learned the hard way that the enemy of your enemy is not necessarily your friend. It is a truth which many of the leading anti-Zionists in this country, both Jews and Gentiles, would do well to recognize.

For the slogan and the goal of Arab nationalism are being utilized by the Communists in the Middle East today exactly as was "agrarian reform" in China twenty years ago. There is some emotional fire, to create so much smoke, of course (just as there was in China); and the Communists are fanning the flames all they can. But Nasser is simply the Arabian Mao Tse-tung. And these flames of Arab nationalism, which Nasser and his fellow Communists are using to weld a huge new Soviet dependency, will be kept strictly under the control of increasing numbers of Soviet "technicians" and "advisers," and of Nasser's own subordinates and police. When "Arab nationalism" ceases to be serviceable to Soviet plans, it will be stamped on as ruthlessly as Polish patriotism.

We said in this magazine nearly three years ago that it seemed to us, on the record which was perfectly clear for anybody who would look at it objectively, Nasser was, and from the very beginning of his career had been, an outright Communist agent of the Kremlin. Every development in the Middle East since then has further confirmed our belief; and there is no other explanation for the more recent developments which even seems plausible. The specious argument that Nasser has been pushed by events (and our stupidity) into the arms of the Soviets is the result of two things: (1) a reluctance on the part of many good Americans to abandon a hope which was the child of wishful thinking; and (2) a preference of our Com-

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munist-dominated State Department and CIA for being considered stupid instead of treasonous.

But Hussein knows where Nasser really stands, as does Chamoun, and as did Nuri es-Said of Iraq before he was murdered by Nasser's agents. So Hussein's fate had already been sealed. He merely speeded up its delivery when, on August 10, he had both the courage and the perspicacity to state flatly that Nasser was taking his orders from Moscow.

If the normal course of events is followed, Nasser's Communist agents will soon smuggle still more explosives (aboard United Nations planes) into Jordan's capital, and stir up still more trouble. Next, our State Department will send Mr. Robert D. Murphy to "help" King Hussein with his problems. It will then take Mr. Murphy about one month to help Hussein right off his throne and a Communist regime right into power.

Mr. Murphy is a fast worker. It had taken him less than a month, through his "help" to Prime Minister Gaillard of France on the problem of the Algerian Communists, to bring about the fall of the Gaillard government. He has been proving the quality and efficiency of his "helpfulness" all over the globe, under the Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower administration, for many years. But never before did he equal his accomplishment in Lebanon.

Our whole intervention in that country, by both Marines and Murphy, was supposed to be, at the request of President Chamoun, to protect Lebanon from the Communist rebels led by Rashid Karami. (Not only is Karami a Communist. As William Schlamm has pointed out, he was the official delegate of the Lebanese Communists to the Moscow family gathering last November, in celebration of the fortieth anniversary of Bolshevik success in 1917.) Yet it took Mr. Murphy less than thirty days to arrange for Fouad Chehab, as originally suggested and desired by Nasser, to become President of Lebanon; and to have Chehab appoint Rashid Karami as both Prime Minister and Minister of Defense. Neither Khrushchev nor Stalin before him could have "arranged" the results of our meddling more quickly or more satisfactorily to the Kremlin.

Chehab himself had helped greatly to bring on the trouble by refusing to use his troops against the Syrian invaders. Today these troops are being used alright, to massacre our real friends in Lebanon. Ahmed Hammoud, like Chamoun one of the pro-

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Western Lebanese leaders, has been found dead near the Syrian border, his body mutilated. It is anybody's guess as to what will happen to Chamoun, who put his confidence in America and was beguiled by some traitor into inviting our "help." (He may simply "disappear," as did Nuri es-Said). But the terror now being experienced by Chamoun's followers and all of the other anti-Communists of Lebanon is no guess at all. It has been rehearsed by the Soviet agents a score of times before, as they established their brutal police-state rule in countries where they had seized power — through infiltration, insurrection, treason, and our assistance.

Since 1945 the United States Government has always acquiesced, has usually cooperated, and frequently has taken the active lead, in the betrayal into Communist hands of some twenty-five countries. Despite the unceasing and treasonous falsification inside the State Department, of the records of our actions, the history of this betrayal in each case is still available and clear, for anybody who will dig through the cleverly woven layer of obfuscation to find it. But this is the first time that our help to the Communists, in taking over any country, has been so visible, so rapidly effective, or so brazen. The actions by which Washington did Moscow's dirty work for it in Lebanon were so thinly disguised and so cynically shameless that every American patriot ought to realize "it is later than it has ever been before."

* * *

The Far East

One purpose of all the recent excitement around Quemoy, of course, was to take the eyes and attention of the American people off the Middle East, while the Communists were carrying out their "mopping up" operation in Lebanon and were otherwise consolidating their gains in the Arabic World. The Kremlin bosses of the whole show now keep new crises coming along just like streetcars, except on a more accurate schedule. So, with their usual brilliant timing, another crisis was precipitated in the Far East, to cause most of us at the desired moment to look in some other direction than Nasserland. And by the time these comments appear in print, the same stage managers may have diverted our attention from the Formosan Strait by some still newer and more exciting crisis, in Mexico or somewhere else.

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The Communists, however, always have more than one dish cooking in any oven. Among the casseroles now baking from the present heat are: (1) an increased feeling of insecurity on the part of the free Chinese; (2) an increased shakiness, both real and apparent, of the United States-Nationalist Chinese "alliance"; (3) an increase in the prestige of Red China throughout eastern Asia, through the very fact of its being so ostentatiously pitted as an antagonist on equal terms, in a diplomatic and military argument with the United States.

Also, since we do not believe the Chinese Communists have any intention of actually trying to take Quemoy in the *immediate future*, either by force or "diplomacy," the Kremlin may well be using an excellent opportunity to let the American government appear to win a round, or at least to draw one, in this unending world-wide contest. After Lebanon, such a gambit is sorely needed. And we are sure that the Soviets' secret agents and sympathizers on our government payroll would welcome some "protective coloration" at the moment.

But all of these are side dishes. And even that big, slow-cooking roast called Recognition of Red China and Admission to the United Nations is not, in our opinion, expected to be ready for serving within the next few months. The chief idea at present is, by continued garnishing with propaganda while it cooks, to make the unappetizing joint smell less obnoxious, and eventually become acceptable, to the American people. We shall ask your patience for what we have to say about the nature of that garnishment, when we come to paragraphs on *The Home Front* in this monologue.

We think that by far the most important of the offerings being prepared, however, is a deceptive-looking soup labeled "cease-fire." For if the Red Chinese could get in return, by any amount of pressure through our government, an agreement to such a cease-fire by Chiang Kai-shek, it would probably be a greater victory for the Reds, and worth more to them at the present time, than either formal United States recognition or their admission to the United Nations.

The greatest blow the Nationalist Chinese have suffered in the eight years since they established themselves on Formosa was the statement by our present administration, in January, 1955, that what we wanted was a cease-fire in the Formosa Strait. Although President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles both began

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to backwater immediately and to claim they had not really meant what they had said, the damage to the anti-Communist cause in Southeast Asia was tremendous and lasting. The anti-Communist press called it, correctly, the equivalent of an atomic bomb dropped by the United States over Free China.

For the Peiping regime is maintaining itself in power, over the largest number of people by the smallest percentage of supporters (about one percent), of any Soviet satellite government. The resistance of the Chinese masses to this enslavement, once they learned its true nature, became and has remained a nightmare for Mao, Chou En-lai, and their subordinates. Lo Jui-ching, "Minister of Security," formally reported that he had put down *over five million* insurrections during the past few years. Throughout the vast stretches of China there are different rebellions constantly taking place, many of which would make the Hungarian uprising look like peanuts by comparison. And to subdue these rebellions and break the spirit of all would-be rebels, Peiping must count on just two things: the use of terror by its supporters, and the planting of despair in the minds of its enemies.

But there can be no final despair among the Chinese on the mainland, so long as Chiang Kai-shek is known to be determined to return. The willingness of the Red Chinese, in a cease-fire agreement, to stop shelling the offshore islands, as against a corresponding promise by Chiang not to attack the mainland, is like the offer of the president of a four-mile railroad to exchange passes with the president of the New York Central, for free travel over their respective lines. Even if the Red Chinese promised in such an agreement to forego all future attempts to take Formosa itself, the *quid pro quo* in exchange for Chiang's agreement to a "cease-fire" would be ridiculous. For this very promise by the Red Chinese would be promoting the "two-Chinas" theme, which is one of their proposed intermediate steps to swallowing the Nationalist government; and their promise wouldn't be worth spoiling white paper to put it down, as everybody knows.

But a formal renunciation by Chiang Kai-shek, of the intention of the duly elected government of China eventually to reestablish its authority over a united Republic of China, would not only be the final death blow to the anti-Communist cause in China itself; it would be the beginning of the death

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rattle of freedom from the Pacific to the Mediterranean. And the sigh of relief which would go up in Peiping would only be exceeded by the sigh of relief in Moscow. For the one surest and easiest place where we might start rolling back the whole Iron Curtain, if the United States could ever get an anti-Communist government in time, would be from Formosa across China — as the Soviets are well aware.

We consider it entirely possible, therefore, that the squeezing of Chiang Kai-shek by our government, to "persuade" him to accept such a cease-fire, may become so great that he can no longer stand against it. At the very best he may have to hedge his ultimate intention of return to the mainland with so many *ifs* and *buts* as to destroy its usefulness to the morale of the anti-Communists in all of Oceania and eastern Asia. For the Communists and their sympathizers and dupes in Washington would not only count on the failure of the American people to understand the significance of this overwhelming victory for the Reds; they would probably have the gall to present it as some kind of a victory for ourselves, just as they did the pusillanimous defeat which they contrived and accepted in Korea.

The main excuse by which the Communist influences which control Washington will seek to justify this course, to the few Americans who dare question it, will be that the alternative was a general war. We do not like to be dogmatic in this magazine, for the Communists deliberately keep the confusion twice confounded in all international affairs. Except when we are simply stating facts, we cannot claim to give you anything more than our interpretations and opinions, which are just as subject to error as those of any other mortal. But in connection with the threat or probability of a general war, we do want to state our opinion as positively and emphatically as any combination of words can make possible.

At the present time, and in the foreseeable future, it would be harder to drag the Soviets into a clearcut all-out war with the United States than to make Khrushchev join the Catholic Church as an honest convert. If Washington made clear that it was willing to go to war if necessary — and if the Kremlin didn't know that it had such control over its puppets in Washington as to make this front ridiculous — there is no action Washington might take, no insults it could deliver either to Peiping or Moscow, no use of even Moscow's own tactics in the

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Cold War, which could conceivably drag Russia or Red China into a real war or an "honest" hot war with the United States.

There are many reasons why this is so. Most important is the one fear with which the Kremlin bosses live all their days: A *simultaneous* uprising of their nine hundred million slaves. They precipitate separate insurrections, as in Poland and Hungary in 1956, in order to destroy piecemeal the will to revolt. But, as Dick Hillis has so brilliantly put it, "eight hundred million pray for war." (It is now nearer a billion.) For a definite, recognizable, shooting war between the United States and the Soviets would *automatically* be the long-awaited signal for a *simultaneous* uprising of all the enslaved peoples of the world—with a now-or-never determination and spirit of sacrifice. And against such a break-through of their "divide and keep conquered" program, the butchers of the Kremlin couldn't stay alive ninety days.

Once the Soviet rulers have conquered all or most of the planet, by the very processes they are now using, and can then convert all uprisings everywhere into local civil wars, you will find them perfectly willing and ready to drop atomic bombs, on Honolulu or London or Washington itself. But until then all such talk, as that Quemoy and Matsu are not worth fighting a general war over, no matter by what innocents that line may be repeated, is unadulterated Communist propaganda planted with their now easy skill in the press of the world.

* * *

Europe

For most of what we should like to say about the frightened governments of Western Europe, we refer you to the lead article in this issue by William Schlamm, who has said it better. We wish to add only one coat of our own opinion to the dark picture he has painted.

Mr. Schlamm has said that, during the almost a year he has now been in Europe, the Communist power and prestige on that continent have increased by at least fifty percent. What Mr. Schlamm has not been in as good a position to observe is that, during the same period, the *visible* domination by the Communists of our own government has also increased by at least fifty percent. Much of what might appear to him as cowardice or opportunism on the part of the capitals of West-

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ern Europe, therefore, is in reality appeasement cunningly but firmly forced on them by Washington. And it is no wonder that, as he repeatedly points out, the real anti-Communists of Europe are completely unable to understand the policies promulgated from the banks of the Potomac. They start with the false premise that these policies are *intended* to thwart Communism.

South America

The furore in the Formosa Strait, like assorted crises before it, has also been diversionary as to what was happening in other parts of the world besides the Middle East. We are thinking here particularly of South America, where the advance of Communist power — with the conniving assistance of our government — is like a tide creeping in, unnoticed and unreported, until all but the hilltops are submerged. Due to necessary consideration for our space and your patience, however, we are not going to make any attempt to survey that whole scene in this issue. Instead, we just want you to read with us the gauge measuring that tide at one point, and let us project briefly the general from the particular.

In Bolivia, for instance, a Communist labor boss named Juan Lechin, who openly boasts that he and his followers are "more radical than the Chinese Communists," has been a dominant factor in the government for years. As would be expected under the circumstances, therefore — or should be — this Lechin is as much a favorite with our State Department and foreign-aid brigade as Sukarno or Nehru or Tito or Gomulka.

Not long ago the Bolivian government, under the inspiration of Lechin, seized and confiscated all the gold placer deposits, exploration reports, drilling logs, and other property of a private mining firm, the Aramayo Company, without any compensation whatsoever. Mr. Lechin and his fellow Communists next got this property turned over to a United States Company, a pet of the ICA (our foreign-aid gang), known as the South American Gold and Platinum Company—on terms which have not been disclosed. (The extent to which some of the stockholders and directors in this company were innocent bystanders in this deal, or the extent to which the whole management *may have been* unaware of the full history of the property they agreed to

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manage, does not alter the facts of what happened in the slightest.)

The ICA then gave the South American Gold and Platinum Company a guarantee — with the backing of your money, gentle reader — against the same mine being expropriated *from them* by the Bolivian government, and a guarantee that currency exchange would be available so that they could move their earnings out of Bolivia.

This is, as Spruille Braden pointed out in testimony before a Senate subcommittee, taking American foreign-aid funds to guarantee to the receiver of stolen property (whether unwitting or not) the safe and beneficial use of the goods stolen. But it is more than that. It is a deliberate and powerful encouragement to Communist-slanted governments anywhere in South America to confiscate private property, in the assurance that we will help them to make the necessary arrangements for its profitable operation.

The Aramayo incident, however, is just that; only one small item in a quiet but widespread program. And it seems likely that — if you are allowed to look — you will now soon see a considerable speeding up of the sell-out of South America, nation by nation, to the Communists — again after that same pattern so well rehearsed in Asia.

For with Nixon's recent trip, then Milton Eisenhower's trip, then Dulles' trip, and with all of the new importuning by the give-away boys for more assistance to Latin America, it is evident that we are about to start *helping* the South American countries in earnest. And when we *really help them*, their days as non-Communist states are surely numbered. Ask the inhabitants of the mainland of China, of Indonesia, of Laos, of Cambodia, of Ceylon, of Iraq, of Lebanon. And as soon as the results of our *help* become more clear in places where it is still unfinished business, you can also ask the inhabitants of South Vietnam, Siam, India, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and a lot of other countries.

Franco of Spain and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic are fortunate. We have *helped* them very little, and so their respective countries remain among the most safely anti-Communist nations in the world today. We have not been able to *help* West Germany, South Korea, and Formosa completely into the Communist orbit so far, solely because of the courageous

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"intransigence" of Adenauer, Syngman Rhee, and Chiang Kai-shek. But the number of countries which have escaped or survived our *help* become increasingly smaller every year.

The poet, William Blake, once wrote to his friend Haley:

"Thy Friendship oft has made my heart to ache:

Do be my Enemy for Friendship's sake."

The good people, the anti-Communist people, of South America, might well make that plea now to the United States. They would be entirely justified in doing so by observation of what help to other nations, by the Roosevelt-Truman-Eisenhower administration, has accomplished.

* * *

The Home Front

The utterly incredible distortion of recent and current history, daily presented to the American people as fact by most of the nation's press, keeps parallel step with the actions of our government in rapidly becoming worse. Part of this distortion, of course, is due to ignorance, indifference, or gullibility on the part of editors and publishers. Part of it is due to their assumption that Washington actually wants to save Asia, Europe, and the rest of the world from Communism — certainly a natural premise but an entirely false one today. Part of it is due to the opportunistic ease of riding the wave — especially for the benefit of advertisers — instead of bucking the current. But the boat of American public opinion is kept steadily moving forward on its pro-Communist course by a sufficient number of actual Communists at the oars who know exactly what they are doing.

The discussion now raging in our newspapers and news weeklies, concerning the situation in the Far East, offers one of the best and clearest case studies imaginable, for showing opinion-molding on behalf of the Communists at work. So, despite our reluctance to ask you to read still more about what Mao Tse-tung and John Foster Dulles are doing to Chiang Kai-shek, we ask you to bear with us here while we approach this subject from a different angle. For the bombardment of the offshore islands by Mao's artillery has been as nothing compared to the bombardment of the American people with the poisoned missiles of Communist propaganda.

It is no surprise, of course, that the notorious O. Edmund

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Clubb, of Institute of Pacific Relations infamy, should write in Max Ascoli's *The Reporter* an article berating the unreasonableness of Chiang Kai-shek. To Mr. Clubb it is unforgivable of Chiang not to let his government be "negotiated" right out of Formosa itself as well as Quemoy — through negotiations conducted in Communist Warsaw, between Ambassadors of the United States and Communist China (which we do not recognize!), to which Nationalist China is not even a party! Nor is it surprising to find Mr. Clubb expecting to have his audience swallow such Clubb-like "history" as that the riots in Formosa of May, 1957, "were staged for the express purpose of dramatizing Nationalist dissatisfaction with our policy." (That these riots were fomented and directed by Communists, not by the Nationalists, was proved conclusively by incontrovertible evidence.) But anybody willing to accept his current history from *The Reporter* deserves just what he gets.

Nor is it surprising to find that "in a series of speeches in nineteen states across the country Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts attacked the American commitment to Quemoy more frankly than perhaps any other critic." Almost the only issue on which you cannot get the exact Communist line today from John Kennedy's speeches, as quickly and as faithfully as from the *WORKER* or the *NATIONAL GUARDIAN*, is the segregation storm in the South—and then only if he happens to be making the speech in the South, where he still masquerades as a "conservative Democrat." (If you doubt this for a minute, just read his speeches themselves and the Communist *NATIONAL GUARDIAN*, side by side, for a few months.) For in reaching for the blessing of Walter Reuther and the extreme Left in 1960, Jumping Jack Kennedy evidently feels that he must out-Roosevelt Eleanor—whether in support of the Communist terrorists in Algiers or in Peiping.

Nor is it the slightest cause for lifting an eyebrow that the same repudiation of our commitment, betrayal of our ally, and further appeasement of the Communists, advocated by Jumping Jack, is urged unceasingly by such characters as James P. Warburg, Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester, John Carter Vincent, Corliss Lamont, Thos. K. Finletter, Eustace Seligman, Norman Thomas, W. W. Rostow, John K. Fairbank, and Arthur Upham Pope. We remember that some of these peace-loving warriors for the Communist propaganda line recently signed the advertisement

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of the Committee For A Sane Nuclear Policy, so highly praised by the *DAILY WORKER*. (They were all for surrendering the United States to "the sovereignty of the human community," or something, if Khrushchev held up one of his stolen atom bombs and said "boo!") Others are chiefly famous for the part they played in selling out the mainland of China to the Communists in the first place. Our only personal reaction to all the activity on behalf of new appeasement, by the geniuses listed above, was delight at seeing W. W. Rostow land himself in the company where we always thought he belonged—with Corliss Lamont, John Carter Vincent, John K. Fairbank and similar experts (of the kind that thought Mao Tse-tung was an "agrarian reformer.") And we are sure that Jumping Jack Kennedy will welcome a welcome from the same associates.

As for Walter Lippmann, Marquis Childs, Ralph McGill, and the rest of their ilk, we believe we could tell you their position concerning these glorious negotiations, without reading a word they have written and without the slightest hesitation. Just as we believe we could tell you in advance, with equal ease and certainty, the position of each one of some two dozen "leading" columnists, if the Communists seized formal control of the Philippines and then of Hawaii; and if the United States were asked each time to recognize the seizure as a fait accompli. (Both events are already in the cards, gentle reader, in due course.) They would all come up with the most laboriously plausible reasons for always drawing the line of our defense just this side of whatever the Communists had taken or were demanding. (Though of course Lippmann's reasons would be far more profound, intellectual — and idiotic — than those of his fellow pundits. And these men, sad to say, do have a terrific total influence on the thinking of the American people.

But the patriotism and the common sense of the majority of Americans could still withstand the erosion worked by the pens of these apostles of appeasement. What is most disturbing about the current Communist fishing expedition in the Formosa Strait is the way normally sounder journalists and editors are swallowing the Communist line, right up to the pole at Warsaw. A fair example is the article in the Boston Sunday Herald of September 28, by George Minot, the Herald's managing editor, under his own name. For George Minot is not only not a Communist nor a pro-Communist by the wildest stretch of

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anybody's imagination, but he usually makes sense. Yet if this whole article had been written by Chou En-lai himself, it could not have given the present Communist arguments more unblushingly, have been more unfair to Chiang Kai-shek, nor have shown a more abysmal ignorance (or unwillingness to give a fair presentation) of the true history of China for the past twenty years.

Minot's article reaches the height of irresponsible partisanship on the side of the Communist smear barrage when he blames Chiang for the "national disaster" of foreign invasion during Chiang's "tenure of office" on the mainland. In reality the Japanese invaded China in 1937 precisely because Chiang was so successfully bringing the warlords and their provinces into a peaceful united China that the Japanese didn't dare wait any longer. The article is guilty of gross and important misstatements of fact when it says that "there never has been the slightest indication that the Chinese ever wanted him [Chiang] to return or would lift a finger to help him." There are hundreds of thousands of recent refugees from Communist China living in stone chicken coops in Hong Kong today who will tell him differently. Or he might ask Walter Robertson, our Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, whom the leftwingers in the State Department have "confined" and frustrated beyond all reason, but have not yet dared remove; and who knows more about the Chinese people from long dealings with them than Mr. Minot will ever know (or apparently wants to know). Mr. Robertson insists that Chiang would not even have to invade the mainland, but would be welcomed back so uproariously that there would be only slight resistance from even Mao's armies. (What Mr. Robertson himself doesn't realize is that the Communist influence in our government and our press, sufficient to make George Minot accept and then transmit the tripe in this article, is also sufficient to keep Chiang from having any chance to go back to the mainland.)

George Minot, because he does not ordinarily go off so half-cocked or display such appalling ignorance and gullibility, (most of which just one small book, George Creel's *RUSSIA'S RACE FOR ASIA*, would dispel) has a huge and well deserved readership, built up over many years. Yet this whole article is full of false analogies, misleading twists, and glaring sins of both omission and commission against historical truth. Almost every paragraph

If You Want It Straight . . .

is loaded with blatant support of the current Communist sophistries and contentions. And we have given this much attention to just one article in one Boston newspaper because it is so typical; because similar articles on the same theme, by men of similar standing, have been commonplace all over the country.

For the struggle over Quemoy and Matsu, or even Formosa itself, is not being fought in the Formosa Strait, nor in the silly going-through-motions "ambassadorial" conferences in Warsaw. The whole real question is just how far and how fast Washington will dare force gradual surrender on Chiang Kai-shek; and that question will be decided in the battle here at home for American public opinion. The big drive is on again. And though it will be conducted with the usual skillful patience of the Communist propaganda machine—which is why we do not expect the immediate fall of Quemoy and Matsu—the ultimate objective is of tremendous importance.

As Walter Robertson feels, and as the Communists themselves make clear, the surrender of these islands (when or if it does come) would be only a prelude to the surrender of Formosa itself. And we'd like to remind our readers once more that Magsaysay, when the Philippines under his leadership were unitedly and firmly anti-Communist (as they are not today), said that even then if Formosa fell to the Communists the Philippines could not last three years. We ourselves do not believe that, under the present circumstances of infiltration and the present mood of surrender, either the Philippines or Hawaii would be outside the Iron Curtain one year after Formosa was pulled inside. And we are not optimistic for the long run.

For as the Communist weekly, the *National Guardian*, printed on September 7, "only last week Eisenhower said these islands 'were more important to the defense of Formosa' than three years ago. Three times in the past fortnight, Washington reiterated this threat." During September Mr. John Foster Dulles did a lot of talking about our determination to support Chiang in his position. And when Dulles and Eisenhower start telling the world about how important something is to our defense, and how positively we intend to keep it, you can safely bet that the area or the country in question will slip into Communist hands in comparatively short order. From Dienbienphu to Beirut the story has been tragically the same. Let's hope that Formosa remains an exception.

HOW TO READ THE FEDERALIST

by

HOLMES ALEXANDER

Mr. Alexander contends that The Federalist Papers should still be read with a firm conviction that the fundamental principles of government which they set forth are just as applicable today as in the eighteenth century, or any other century. This is the sixth in his series of twelve essays, in which he looks at our problems and confusions of the present against the background of the beliefs of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. All twelve articles are appearing serially in this magazine.

VI

A NATION'S RESPECT for law and order is not necessarily measurable by its obedience to "the law of the land."

Any tribe of loin-cloth savages may practice rigid obedience because of ignorance, fear, and superstition. There is no particular credit attached to stupid adherence to stupid laws. But for a self-governing people to be law-abiding in the best sense means that this people has the knowledge and the experience to discriminate between pure law and perverted law; to recognize and acknowledge the relationship that should always exist between the laws of the land and the laws of Nature. The latter supersede all human ordinances.

There is no doubt that the Founding Fathers accepted this all-important point. Had they believed otherwise, they would not have "fathered" or "founded" the United States of America. The sanctity of law to them lay not in the divine right of kings but rather in the divine right, period. Thus, James Madison wrote in *The Federalist Number 10*:

"We have staked the whole future of America not on the power of government, far from it, but on the capacity of mankind for self-government."

As national life grows more and more complicated, and mere mortal existence more perilous in the light of spreading Communism and destructive weapons, we should ask ourselves continuously what self-government means. Does it imply delegating our powers to bigger and bigger government groups;—

How To Read the Federalist

that is, from the court house to State House, from Federal authority to global rule?

On the contrary, self-government requires a distrust and a rejection of any unit much bigger than the human eye can encompass. We can hardly attain that kind of perfection, but we should keep it always in mind as a model.

Self-government requires something that the sing-song praisers of human liberties seldom mention, for it is not a pretty-sounding thing. One of the main ingredients of freedom is distrust. One of the essentials of self-government is suspicion. This is what Jefferson meant by writing: "Free government is founded in jealousy." The people most apt to stay free are those who keep a snarling watchdog of skepticism to guard their leaders. Those leaders who offer to look after the people's liberties, who coo seductively about being absolutely trustworthy, who undertake to provide the people with "welfare" and "security"—these deserve to be lined up against a wall and frisked to see what hidden intentions they are bearing.

The liberties which are apt to remain intact are those treated most jealously and guarded most selfishly by their holders. The nation which thinks so lightly of its Bill of Rights as to want to spread and share it among other nations is like a husband who behaves in that liberal fashion with his wife. If he's so anxious to spread her favors, he does not hold them very dear. And if he's willing to scatter them around, he will inevitably lose them for his own comfort and pleasure.

It is good to distrust political leaders because that means you doubt that they are necessary or indispensable. The essence of self-government is faith in one's own ability to meet the dangers and challenges of life without buying security at the cost of freedom. Yet in the mid-Twentieth Century it became plain that the undeniable dangers of living were causing Americans to give an undue reverence to ephemeral laws, temporal leaders, and outsized government; and to neglect their own sense of rightness and their oft-proved ability for responsive self-government. It is possible to cite examples in a rising order of clarity and deplorability.

1. Although laws had been passed to stockpile surplus foods in war time, the country had lost the will-power to scorn and abolish these laws in peace time. First there was the almost psychotic fear of a returning depression. The people had heard

How To Read the Federalist

it said by their leaders that a farm depression inevitably triggers a general economic catastrophe.

But was that a true assumption? Strangely enough, there was almost no display of Yankee skepticism or attitude of Missouri "show me" in this picture. The political leaders, whose jobs and theories were at stake, should have been distrusted and forced to come up with the proof. The assertion that falling farm income is the sure sign of economic collapse should have been treated with doubt and suspicion. The effects of mechanization, super-fertilization, high costs of labor, and the high efficiency of mass processing should have been studied in the light of the 1950's and not of the bygone 1930's. But little of this was done. Both political parties and most of the agronomists were fear-frozen with what amounted to a superstition that farmers could not get along without established Federal laws. There was a lack of faith in self-reliance and self-government, and there was a hurtful attraction to the written statutes, the "laws of the land," if you will.

2. Although prosperity was great after the Korean War and jobs were unbelievably plentiful, the country would not abandon the Federal aids adopted under the depression conditions. Emergency-only legislation became emergency-always. The country was now strong enough to swim, but it would not abandon its life-preserver. Therefore there had to be continuing and ever-increasing schemes of putting money into circulation for producing more consumer goods and for creating more purchasing power for taking the goods off the market. Business and Labor were both beneficiaries here, although neither was in need and both would have been strengthened by doing without the benefits. Again, both political parties and most of the economists surrendered to the flabby argument that government paternalism was indispensable to private enterprise and to the labor force. Almost nobody of consequence came out against Federal inflation of credit for the purchase of housing, home improvements, and finally household playthings. The whole process was a massive and accelerating retreat from self-reliance and self-government. It was a tribal bowing down to the idols of fear, superstition, and status-quo.

3. Although the income tax was started in 1913 with the belief that it would take a very small percent of very high earnings, the country refused to limit income taxation

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when it hit low earnings and approached the state of confiscation on high earnings. It was true, of course, that the Federal government "needed" the money, in the same sense that by the 1950's the Treasury was in debt around \$260 billion. There was the excuse that national defense in an Atomic Age was unavoidably expensive and in a sense unpredictable.

But the country just was not willing to re-examine the principle of income taxation in the light of its true nature—confiscation. This made it impossible for the few thoughtful reformers to work up any support for resolutions and proposed Constitutional amendments to restrict the taxing power in any degree. The American people had become so weakened in initiative and so mesmerized by the presence of existing law that they were without the will to make a drastic change away from "the law of the land" and in the direction of self-determination.

4. Although the American Negro had been advancing with more rapidity than any other ethnic segment in history, the national leaders would not leave well enough alone. This time both political parties pressed for a Supreme Court decision on school segregation. When, in this atmosphere, the Court made a strenuous, precedent-shattering ruling against school segregation and called for integration of the Caucasian and Negroid races "with all deliberate speed," the country again revealed its enfeebled faith in local self-government as opposed to centralized government.

There were political and left-wing "liberal" leaders who thought that the "law of the land" should be enforced upon the American people by troops, if necessary. Worse, the argument was made that the USA somehow owed it to the "world" to punish advocates of local self-government and to achieve coercive equality, the term itself being self-contradictory, by fire and sword, as things are done in authoritarian regimes.

5. Finally, although self-government is essentially that of elected representatives and relatively small assemblies, the country became hypnotized with the vision of a non-elective assembly in a World State. Once more, there was the bemused belief that something big and remote is better for freedom and peace than something small, immediate, and intimate. A whole host of reasons can be adduced for the American people's sheepish trust in the United Nations organization, but fundamentally it represented a moving away from faith in themselves. People

How To Read the Federalist

who doubt their ability to protect themselves will hire a body-guard, paying for him in some precious coin; maybe money, maybe surrendered liberties. It is the same with a nation which doubts its strength and its stamina to survive in a world that is by nature competitive in all the ways of war and peace. The more that Americans abandon faith in their own ability to govern and defend themselves, the more they are willing to tolerate a dinosaur-sized government at home and a senseless maze of entangling alliances with five or six dozen nations abroad.

This step-by-step pilgrimage toward the idolatrous altar of law-worship was a retreat from the altars which our American founders built for us. Our nation's sovereignty lies only in the people. Our great documents, including both the Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution, are not sovereign in themselves. They merely assert and ratify the people's supremacy which exists, as Lincoln put it, "under God."

We are a little inaccurate when we speak of ours as being tripartite government. There are actually five parts, not three; they are the President, the Congress, the Supreme Court, the several States, and basically, the people who reserve the right to alter and control the other four. The final and fateful truth is that blind obedience to the law of the land is a sure way for the people of the land to lose their freedom.

Americanist News Notes

We congratulate WE, THE PEOPLE, and its energetic Executive Vice-President, Harry T. Evringham, on the election of the Hon. Ralph Gwinn as President, at the recent highly successful convention of the organization.

We also emphatically congratulate the Honorable Charles Edison, Admiral Ben Moreell, Mr. Henning W. Prentis, Jr., and all of their associates, on successfully launching the Americans For Constitutional Action. We shall have an article on the ACA in an early issue, giving the full story of the origin, leadership, and purposes of this most potent of the Americanist organizations formed to date.

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The "NEW ORLEANS"

The First Steamboat On Our Western Waters

by

F. VAN LOON RYDER

Neither the falls of Ohio, the great earthquake of 1811, the mighty Mississippi in flood, hostile Indians, nor fire could stay the perilous voyage of the first steamboat to New Orleans.

This article is the first function of a new variable in our editorial formula. But stories of the men and events that made America what it is—or was—seem to us quite appropriate in a magazine dedicated to preserving some semblance of the glorious nation we inherited. We shall offer our readers similar gems of historical fact, from the days when our country was young, whenever we find one as interesting, exciting—and still as factual—as the bit of history Mr. Ryder has given us below.

BEFORE THE ADVENT of steam upon our Western waters transportation was primarily by keel and flat boat. The former had a more graceful hull, with narrow beam; from its downward terminus it was poled and warped back upstream by means of oars and long sweeps. The flat boat or "broad horn," as often called, was of box-like construction, less maneuverable, and at the end of its journey was dismantled for its lumber. The crew then returned north by shanks' mare, stage or canoe.

In 1809 there was still serious doubt whether a steamboat could navigate the swift currents of these rivers, despite the success of the CLERMONT on the Hudson. In this year Nicholas J. Roosevelt, a business associate of Chancellor Livingston and Robert Fulton—and a brother of Theodore Roosevelt's grandfather—undertook a preliminary survey of the Ohio and lower Mississippi Rivers. This was with the understanding that if the survey proved favorable his

two partners would furnish the necessary capital, and he would supervise the building of a steamboat at Pittsburgh. The three partners were to share equally in the venture.

Roosevelt then journeyed to Pittsburgh, accompanied by his young wife, arriving in May, 1809. Unable to find a suitable keel boat, he built a flat boat containing quarters for his wife, himself, a pilot, cook and three deck hands. Drifting down the rivers, Roosevelt took six months for the passage, as the gauging of the waters at various seasons and a recording of their velocities were required.

In 1809 the only towns on this two-thousand-mile watercourse were Cincinnati, Louisville, Natchez and the sparse settlements of Marietta, Memphis, and Vicksburg. Roosevelt discussed his plans with merchants and settlers at every opportunity, but received no encouragement. Almost invariably the reply would be an eloquent gesture toward the tur-

The "New Orleans"

bulent and whirling current. But neither his enthusiasm nor confidence in steam could be shaken. At Natchez the flat boat was sent on ahead while Roosevelt, with his wife and a pilot, completed the journey in a large rowboat. He felt obliged to survey personally, and thoroughly, these lower reaches of the river. On December 1st the party arrived in New Orleans, and Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt immediately took passage on a packet for New York. An outbreak of yellow fever aboard ship and the Captain's illness necessitated their leaving the vessel at Point Comfort by pilot boat. The journey to New York was then completed by stage, and after an absence of eleven months they arrived on New Year's Day, 1810.

The abundance of meticulous statistics contained in Roosevelt's report so impressed Livingston and Fulton that it was agreed he should return to Pittsburgh, with a shipbuilder and a number of mechanics, and should begin immediately the construction of a steamboat. The site of operation chosen was on the Monongahela River, adjoining Beelen's Iron Foundry under a lofty bluff called Boyd's Hill. The plan and dimensions of the vessel had been decided upon before Roosevelt left New York. It was to be built along the same lines as Fulton's Hudson River steamboats. To obtain timbers, lumberjacks were sent up the Monongahela to forests from which logs were rafted down to the building site and sawn by hand in old-style saw pits. The larger components of the machinery were built in Fulton's shops in Jersey City and transported by water and ox-team to Pittsburgh. Several times during construction the river flooded and work was delayed, but eventually the hull was launched, on St.

Patrick's Day, 1811. The fitting out was then begun, with the mechanics brought from the East assembling and installing the engine. In due time the cabin work was finished and the vessel was provisioned. A short and successful trial run was made up the Monongahela in September. As it was planned to place the steamboat on the Natchez-New Orleans route she was appropriately christened the NEW ORLEANS, with fitting ceremonies.

II

THE NEW ORLEANS was of 371 gross tons; her length 116 feet, with beam of 20 feet, and depth of hold of 7 feet. The engine was of the bell crank or "saw mill" type, having a thirty-four inch cylinder with four-foot stroke; steam was supplied by one copper boiler placed below deck. The side paddle-wheels were each approximately sixteen feet in diameter with a four-foot face. There was a large forward cabin for men, and a smaller cabin aft comfortably furnished with four berths for ladies. The vessel carried two masts for sails, and in general appearance was similar to Fulton's PARAGON, built the same year for Hudson River service. The cost of the NEW ORLEANS was slightly under \$38,000.

As commander, Roosevelt chose Captain J. Baker, and as pilot Andrew Jack. The crew consisted of an engineer, fireman, cook, waiter, six deck hands and two female servants. The younger of these, Mrs. Roosevelt's maid, was "a comely lass"; and shortly after the voyage started Captain Baker began courting her. As a mascot there was Tiger, a huge and friendly Newfoundland dog. When it had become known that Mrs. Roosevelt, who was about to be-

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The "New Orleans"

come a mother, was also going on this trip, the many friends she had made in Pittsburgh endeavored to dissuade her and they even appealed to her husband. He was admonished by the townsfolk that he had no right to jeopardize his wife's life, however reckless he might be with his own. Nevertheless she remained adamant, having abundant faith both in her husband and in his steamboat. But sometime prior to the voyage, when passengers were solicited, none appeared who were willing to run the risk of travel by so novel a mode of transportation.

Around October 20th (1811), all was in readiness for departure. Hurried good-byes were said, and it appeared the entire population of Pittsburgh had turned out to wish the travelers God-speed. The river banks were lined with people shouting and waving handkerchiefs and excitement permeated the air. As the anchor was weighed the steamboat, making a wide circuit, was brought about on course and, abetted by both steam and current, disappeared around the first headlands of the Ohio.

Too excited to sleep, Roosevelt and his wife spent the night watching the dark outline of the almost unbroken forest glide by while bend after bend was passed at a speed of from eight to ten miles per hour. When daylight came all were jubilant, as the steady, though noisy, rhythmic pulsing of the engine drove the boat smoothly along. Pilot Jack, unaccustomed to such speed, was elated at the ease with which the steamboat handled. Much of the day was occupied in returning cheers of the rivermen and settlers, for the vessel created a sensation wherever seen. The newspapers chronicled her movements, and the citizens at various settlements vied

with one another in doing honor to the vessel and her builder. The *New York Evening Post*, November 15th, 1811, under date line of Marietta, Ohio, November 2nd, had this to say:

"The STEAMBOAT, lately built at Pittsburgh, passed this place on Wednesday, the 23rd ult. Her appearance was very elegant and her sailing beyond anything we have ever witnessed. We understand that by observation of Judge Fearing she was but fifteen minutes from the foot of the island, just above town, to past the head of the island where she disappeared below—a distance of 3 or 3½ miles—so she must have gone at the rate of 12 to 14 miles an hour."

III

ON THE SECOND DAY after leaving Pittsburgh the NEW ORLEANS arrived at Cincinnati and anchored midstream, as wharf boats or levees were unknown in 1811. She was greeted by the whole town's turning out to pay homage. Only a brief stay was made, however, long enough to take aboard sufficient wood to reach Louisville. Two days later—four days out of Pittsburgh—she arrived at Louisville around midnight. There was a full moon lighting the scene as the steamboat anchored opposite the town; and when the engineer blew off steam from the boiler the entire population was aroused. The sound of steam, never having been heard there before, was believed by some to be caused by the recent widely discussed comet's falling into the water. Late as the hour was, many of the inhabitants came rushing to the bank of the river.

The following day was one of cele-

The "New Orleans"

bration, ending with a banquet given by the city in honor of the voyagers. But thus far the NEW ORLEANS had been moving downstream only. Many people, including the hosts of the banquet, expressed the opinion that, although the steamboat was a marvelous invention, it could never force its way upstream against the current. In return for the hospitality extended, Roosevelt invited his hosts to a party aboard the vessel. A few evenings later, as the party was progressing merrily in the forward cabin of the steamboat, a rumbling sound came from below. The guests rushed from the cabin in panic, believing the NEW ORLEANS had broken from her moorings and was heading for the Falls of the Ohio and certain destruction. Their fear turned first to amazement, then chagrin, and finally delight, as they found the vessel to be steaming *upstream* against the current at a fair speed. All doubts were then dispelled as to whether steam would conquer our Western rivers.

The river being low at this time of year, Roosevelt's problem was to navigate the NEW ORLEANS over the Falls and rapids. For it was not until 1825 that a canal was built around them. The telegraph was far in the future and there was no way of knowing how much rain might be falling up country, so all that could be done was to wait. He decided to take advantage of this delay by returning up river to Cincinnati and convincing the incredulous of that area that the steamboat was practical. Upon the vessel's arrival in Cincinnati, it and its passengers were greeted with a great ovation. And here, again, all doubts vanished as to the ability of a steamboat to stem the currents of the rivers.

After the return of the NEW ORLEANS to Louisville, and while Roosevelt still impatiently awaited a rise in the river, a new name was added to the ship's roster of passengers: Mrs. Roosevelt gave birth to a bouncing boy, which occasion called for another round of celebrations and rejoicing.

The days remained cloudless; there was a dull misty sky and a leaden atmosphere "which would have been better understood under the shadow of Vesuvius than on the banks of the Ohio." The air was sultry and oppressive and the morning sun looked like a ball of red molten iron. A feeling of nervousness and tension was in the air itself. Then, early one morning, Roosevelt announced that there had been a rise in water during the night. This rise continued steadily until the last week of November, when it leveled off. Roosevelt then determined with accuracy that in the shallowest part of the Falls there would be five inches of water under the keel of the steamboat. After due consideration, he decided to take the risk. He endeavored to persuade his wife to leave the vessel with their newborn son, and to rejoin the voyagers below the Falls, but she insisted on remaining aboard. Hasty preparations were made, all hands being called on deck and briefed. The two pilots (an extra one, familiar with the Falls, having been engaged for this dangerous passage through the rapids) took their places at the bow where they could signal the helmsman. With a hot pine fire giving a full head of steam the steamboat weighed anchor. Steering a wide circle to enter the deeper Indiana channel, she began the descent. The engine, for the first time under maximum steam pressure, caused the paddlewheels

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The "New Orleans"

to turn at a greater speed than ever before; and under the impetus of both steam and the rapids, the vessel literally flew downstream, away from the large and shouting crowds lining the shores. Both crew and passengers held tightly to the rails as the vessel was catapulted into the maelstrom. Ragged ledges of ugly rock appeared, only to recede astern when the steamboat flashed by them. As the waters whirled and eddied the great Newfoundland, too, sensed the danger. He crouched at the feet of Mrs. Roosevelt, who sat at the stern, tightly holding her son in her arms. Just as tension approached the breaking point, the passage ended as abruptly as it had begun; and the vessel rounded to, in safety below the Falls. A sense of relief and gratitude was experienced by all, even though there was still a feeling of strange foreboding in the air. However, all hoped that now, since the Falls had been safely overcome, their dangers were in the past. They were soon to find how false these hopes were, for the events of the voyage were piling up at a geometric rate of development.

IV

THE COMET OF 1811 had disappeared. But a new and more dangerous phenomenon now presented itself: This was the great earthquake of 1811, which extended for more than a thousand miles in the Ohio-Mississippi valleys, centering in the lower Ohio. A large portion of the town of New Madrid, Missouri, was destroyed by this quake; and in northwestern Tennessee there was formed a lake more than seventy square miles in area—which was named for the Chickasaw Chief Reelfoot. For the next five hundred miles the NEW OR-

LEANS was to keep company with this earthquake. The first shock was felt immediately after her passage over the Falls, and gave the impression that the vessel had suddenly grounded. Those on board experienced a feeling of nausea and it was sometime before there was any comprehension of what was happening. The shocks succeeded one another throughout the night, but when morning came and the voyage was resumed the monotonous thumping of the paddlewheels prevented the disturbance from being too keenly felt. The most unnerving and tangible evidence of the earthquake was the sight of great sections of the bank crumbling into the river as if pushed by some invisible Herculean hand. Tiger seemed especially affected by the shocks, and would whimper and occasionally growl when the larger ones were felt.

When the mouth of the Ohio was approached the current slackened appreciably, in several instances actually running upstream. This was a bad omen, as it indicated that the Mississippi was in flood. This was soon verified. For upon entering the great river, Captain Baker found a vast plateau of turbid and muddy water spread for miles into the forests on either bank, making it difficult or quite impossible to identify the channel.

During this era the Chickasaw Indians still inhabited the banks of the Mississippi on the Tennessee side, and many were antagonistic toward the encroachments of the settlers. Several times when the steamboat's woodchoppers went ashore to replenish the fuel for the next day's run, the Indians were observed to be covertly watching; and in one instance an Indian approached and exhibited a knowledge of English.

The "New Orleans"

From him it was learned that the steamboat was called "PENELORE" which, in Chickasaw, meant FIRE CANOE; and it was believed that the steamboat was an attribute of the recent comet and earthquake. A few days later, the NEW ORLEANS was threatened with attack. A large war party, containing more Indians than the steamboat's crew, paddled out from the forest, and amid defiant shouts attempted to overtake the steamboat. Their canoe was keeping up with the NEW ORLEANS and it was only by dint of hard firing that sufficient speed was produced to win over the muscle power of the Red Men. The Indians, finally frustrated, gave up the pursuit; and still yelling wildly, retreated into the flooded forest.

After the tension caused by the Indian incident had subsided, Roosevelt and his wife retired for the night. They had scarcely fallen asleep, however, when they were aroused again by shouts and a great commotion on deck. With Indians uppermost in his mind, Roosevelt sprang from his bed and seized a sword which was the only weapon at hand. He rushed from the cabin to join battle, as he thought, with the Chickasaws. But smoke and flames were issuing from the forward cabin, and he realized instantly that the vessel was on fire. The wood stove, becoming overheated, had set fire to the nearby woodwork, which was burning fiercely. Only by great exertion on the part of all were the flames finally extinguished, after considerable damage had been done to the cabin. Between thoughts of the Indians and the fire there was little sleep aboard the NEW ORLEANS for the remainder of that night.

V

AS THE NEW ORLEANS progressed southward the river continued in angry flood. Sometimes when the woodchoppers went ashore traders or settlers would have news about the earthquake. It was thus they learned that a great portion of the town of New Madrid had been destroyed. Snags, logs, matted islands of debris, and even whole trees were continually encountered; and Pilot Jack was compelled repeatedly to seek and sail unknown channels, some of which had been newly formed within the hour. At various times stricken people had called from the banks, begging to be taken aboard, while others feared the steamboat more than the earthquake and would hide when the vessel approached. To take on refugees was impossible as the supply of provisions would have been speedily exhausted. Throughout this period there was the lack of gayety previously in evidence; the voyagers were becoming haggard in appearance, and even necessary conversation was carried on in subdued tones. Tiger would prowl about, sometimes whimpering, and only Mrs. Roosevelt could console him. Of this period she later wrote: "I lived in constant fright, unable to sleep or sew, or read."

Perhaps the most alarming factor was the confusion of the pilot who, because of the continual changes in the channel, was constantly baffled. Tall trees that had been guides, and other landmarks, had been obliterated, and it was impossible to determine the river from the field. But all agreed they must continue downstream for, long since, they had passed the point of no return. It developed that the safest course was to keep the vessel where the current was strong-

est, as the water, although sometimes trees from down river left behind danger of being caught to those that had passed.

Finally a tree was felt by all the crew were they had Louisville in their nounced that the place at a congratu drunk, a NEW C wood an final lap.

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The "New Orleans"

est, as this generally indicated deep water, although at the bends they would sometimes be endangered by the falling trees from the banks. As they continued down river the earthquake zone was left behind and the inconvenience and danger of snags and tree trunks presently became minor obstacles compared to those through which the steamboat had passed.

Finally Natchez loomed into view and a tremendous feeling of relief was felt by all. Here the Roosevelts and the crew were extended the same hospitality they had enjoyed at Cincinnati and Louisville. At one of the dinners given in their honor, Captain Baker announced his betrothal to the maid, and that the marriage ceremony would take place at the end of their journey. After congratulations had been given, toasts drunk, and celebrations completed, the NEW ORLEANS took on the usual wood and resumed her passage on the final lap of her unique Odyssey.

Two days later, January 12th, 1812, when the NEW ORLEANS steamed gayly into the city for which she was named, a holiday atmosphere prevailed. After the celebrations, far more pretentious than previous ones, Captain Baker and the maid were married. This ceremony, of course, called for still more celebrating and drinking of toasts by all.

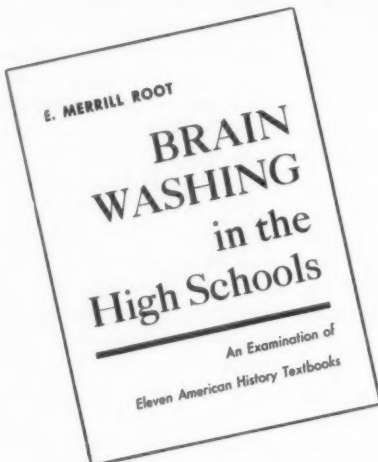
The NEW ORLEANS, having proved her staunchness and reliability, was immediately placed on the route for which she had been built. During her short career as passenger and freight carrier between New Orleans and Natchez, she brought about a reduction of twenty-five percent in transportation costs over the route. The steamboat was well patronized and proved immensely profitable. The fare from Natchez to

New Orleans was eighteen dollars, and required from two to three days. From New Orleans up river to Natchez the fare was twenty-five dollars and required from seven to eight days. Freight receipts on down-river trips averaged five hundred dollars; on up-river trips, seven hundred dollars. The net profit from the first year of operation was better than \$420,000!

The NEW ORLEANS continued on her route during 1812, 1813, and part of 1814. But tragedy struck during the night of July 14th, 1814. Two miles south of Baton Rouge, while on a northbound trip, she was made fast to the bank to take on wood and remain until morning, the night being considered too dark for safe navigation. At daylight it was found the water had fallen and the vessel was resting on a large snag. In freeing her, the bottom planking was pierced by the obstruction, and she sank so rapidly that the passengers barely had time to escape with their baggage. There being no salvage equipment available, the steamboat became a total loss.

The NEW ORLEANS had shown the way, however, and was quickly followed by the COMET, VESUVIUS, ENTERPRISE, BUFFALO, AETNA and, in 1816, a second NEW ORLEANS. The rivers brought together the great natural resources of our West with the boundless energy of our pioneers. Neither highways nor railroads appeared until many years later, and it was the steamboat that speeded the growth of our great inland empire. In 1820 there were seventy steamboats plying the Mississippi, and before the century was over there were two thousand steamboats running and racing from Pittsburgh and from St. Paul to the sea.

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A REVIEW OF REVIEWS

by

EDWIN McDOWELL

If the British Empire was won on the playing fields of Eton, the American Republic is being lost in the history classes of its high schools. And this is not, primarily, even the fault of the teachers. It is due to the fact that honest American history has been replaced by collectivist and one-world propaganda, masquerading as history, in the textbooks.

In *BRAINWASHING IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS* (Devin-Adair, N. Y.; 277 pages, \$4.50), Professor E. Merrill Root examines thoroughly all eleven of the books used during 1956 for American history courses in an Evanston, Illinois high school, which is one of the largest in the country. And what he lays out for your inspection will certainly enable you to understand why we are losing the Cold War on the ideological front, so surely and so rapidly. Not only are the students of this high school being denied any opportunity to learn the real history of our nation and the truth as to what made it happy, great, and envied by all the world. They are being brazenly and thoroughly indoctrinated with a completely one-sided glorification of those policies and persons at work to convert America into a "people's democracy" on the Soviet pattern.

Referring constantly to each other as authorities, the authors of these eleven books repeatedly cite, quote from, or

recommend such other essayists, scholars, and pundits as W. E. B. DuBois, Louis Adamic, Albert E. Kahn, Frederick L. Schuman, Vera Micheles Dean, Philip C. Jessup, Carey McWilliams, Matthew Josephson, Robert G. and Helen Lynd, Lee Huberman, Howard Fast, I. R. Stone, Max Lerner, Gunnar Myrdal, Gene Weltfish, John Roy Carlson, Maxwell S. Stewart, Vilhjalmur Steffanson, and George Seldes, without once even suggesting that any one of these "objective" sources ever had Communist or Communist-front associations. (DuBois has over seventy such affiliations with Communist fronts to his credit, and Steffanson over a hundred, just to pick two of the more notorious examples from the above list.) While these same "historians" simply never heard—or so you would gather—of William Henry Chamberlin, or Harry Elmer Barnes, or even of David Dallin.

An extremely interesting revelation of the bias and purpose of these authors is shown in their treatment of the "Bonus Expeditionary Force" which marched on Washington in 1932. Several of them find such significance in this glorious gesture of the resentful underprivileged, against the forces of oppression which were then grinding them down. But not a single one of our eleven authors gives the poor high school students even a hint that *Communist*

A Review of Reviews

agents incited and directed the march because they had orders from Moscow to force the Hoover administration to call out troops and then open fire. Nor does one of these authors mention the fact that MacArthur put down this Moscow-directed rebellion (which Earl Browder hailed as the beginning of the mass struggle) without bloodshed and without firing a shot.

While Root believes that most of the teachers themselves are both innocent and helpless, under the pressures which force such textbooks on them—with *nothing* available, written from the Americanist point of view, even as a pretense of giving balance to the whole—he does not think that enough of the teachers either fight this tendency as they should, or try to offset the one-sided propaganda by their own personal instruction. And he quotes one teacher in another high school (who resigned rather than continue to serve as a brainwashing agent of the socialist-communist schemers), to the effect that there seems to be a conscious, deliberate movement on the part even of a certain element of the teaching profession to change America into a collectivist state. Anybody who has observed the activities of the NEA over recent years will certainly feel that this was a restrained understatement of the case.

Brainwashing In The High Schools proceeds in a careful analytical manner, point by point, chapter by chapter, to show the complete perversion of American history accomplished by these textbooks; and how the Left Wing is taking full and skillful advantage of all the opportunity given it by captive audiences of impressionable youngsters in the high schools of the nation. If you are wondering where and how your chil-

dren are getting the ideas that will obviously destroy in time both the freedoms and the opportunities which you inherited and had hoped to pass on to them, Merritt Root will show you. Nor will he do so in generalities, but with specific information from identified chapter and verse.

And this is a situation *you* can do something about. Buy a copy of Root's book. Study it. Learn to recognize the poison daily being injected into the minds of our high school boys and girls, how it is injected, and how disastrous is its cumulative effect. Then look into the textbooks being used for the corresponding courses in the high schools of your own community. Persuade your friends and neighbors to join you in a careful investigation. If you find that the textbooks are designed, not for the *teaching* of American history, but for the *preaching* of class hatred, of contempt for patriotism, of the wickedness of owning property, of the folly of morality, and of the glories of enslavement to an all-powerful government, show some guts and determination. Shake loose this Marxian grip now closing over your own schools. *Or blame yourselves and not the younger generation.* They are studying the textbooks *you* provide, under the teachers *you* place in authority over them.

* * *

In the above paragraphs we have spoken our small word of praise for a book dealing with just one narrow line of march, in the vast conspiratorially propelled drive to the left. In other reviews in this magazine we have frequently called attention, as favorably and as effectively as we could, to other

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A Review of Reviews

books, each of which painstakingly exposed some specific route to the same stampeding movement. Volumes such as Rosalie Gordon's *Nine Men Against America*, showing the Supreme Court's part in opening all gates and leveling all barricades which stood in the Communists' way; or Eldorous Dayton's *Walter Reuther*, making clear the prostitution of our labor-union movement to the promotion of a socialist dictatorship; or Edgar Bundy's *Collectivism In The Churches*, revealing how a small percentage of Protestant ministers have tried to make of themselves bellwethers for leading millions of Christian laymen down the twisting road to Marxism; these and dozens like them turn their searchlights on specific targets.

At this point, however, we'd like to call your attention to a little book, first published in 1956, which sweeps the horizon, and does it very well. AMERICA'S CHOICE: FREEDOM OR SLAVERY (American Publishing Company, Inc., San Antonio, Texas; 121 pages, \$2.00), by Oscar H. Brinkman, is a panoramic summary of the whole confused flight of Americans from americanism. Beginning with "Revolution By Stealth" and "To Tyranny By Gradualism," the author follows with further short sharp chapters which itemize various separate—though always interlocking—attacks on every bastion of our traditional strength. He traces, swiftly and tellingly, the loss of states' rights to one big Federal Government. He weighs—and finds wanting—the gold bricks the government is selling to farmers. He demonstrates that the Supreme Court's rulings of the past four years could hardly have helped the Communists more if the decisions had been written in the Kremlin. He "covers the waterfront." He does

it tersely, penetratingly, at times epigrammatically, and always with a sure knowledge of his facts and their significance.

Freedom or Slavery is a rapidly moving survey of the tragic destruction, by hidden enemies and the "liberal" fools who follow them, of the greatest republic and happiest framework for human life that our groping race had yet achieved; a destruction not yet complete, but which can be stopped only by greatly increased understanding and herculean efforts. It is a book which you can read, with angry pleasure, in a couple of hours.

* * *

When Karl Marx died in 1883, not more than eight people stood beside his grave, in the cemetery at Highgate, England. But though his "fame" flowered late, he certainly was not destined to oblivion. Within seventy-five years after his death almost one half of the world was to be enslaved under the system he devised.

KARL MARX: THE RED PRUSSIAN (Universal Library, N. Y.; \$1.65), by Leopold Schwarzschild, is a masterful presentation of the genesis of communism, based primarily on the complete correspondence between Marx and his lifelong "second," Friedrich Engels. First published in 1947, and recently reissued, this excellent biography is probably the best study yet made of the "founder" of modern socialism.

Karl Marx was born in Treves, Prussia, in 1818, in a middle-class Jewish family which became converts to Christianity. There was little to indicate that the obstinate, opinionated, smugly aloof

(Continued on page 55)

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A Review of Reviews

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young man would alter the course of history — there seldom is. But "the Moor," as his father affectionately called him, was a precocious student and an omnivorous reader. Poetry, criticism, biography, philosophy, theology—Marx read them all. All, that is, except economics. He avoided "the dismal science" completely until after he had formulated his own specious economic theories. He then read those economists, and only those, whose findings buttressed his own arguments. (We always wondered where our contemporary liberals acquired the habit!)

At the University of Berlin Karl Marx was profligate, wanton, and disputatious. He early became a member of the "Professors' Club," a group of intellectual Bohemians who spent half their lives in endless discussions and arguments. Here, in the numerous Berlin coffeehouses, were planted many seeds of revolution.

During his university days, Marx read and worshipped Hegel, the Prussian philosopher who taught that the state "is the embodiment of the moral idea" and of "concrete freedom." He read the French socialists, Proudhon, Cabet, and Louis Blanc; and was excited by their tirades against both God and poverty. He devoured Fourier, Saint-Simon, Robert Owen, and Moses Hess; and became convinced that socialism, illuminated and systematized by the omniscience of Karl Marx, should be the cure for all the world's ills. The goal for his life was established, and hatred became increasingly the dominant motivation which kept him on his chosen course.

The years that followed for Marx were troublesome and lonely. He was

expelled from Germany, France, and Belgium because of his poisonous pen and scurrilous attacks on his foes. Only in England did he find refuge. Even here, he provided the barest living for his indigent, poverty-ravaged family only through the generosity of his friend, Engels—a fellow expatriate from Germany, but now growing rich as a manufacturer in Manchester. Marx took such poor care of his family that two of his children, improperly fed and without medical care, died in infancy. "The Moor" who, until he left school, had never been allowed by his parents to know financial discomfort, was reduced to abject poverty. And one of the letters which he wrote his mother, berating her for not pouring out whatever money she had left to support him, seems to set a record in all human history for mean vindictiveness.

It mattered not to Marx or Engels, or to their followers, that every single assertion of their "scientific theory" had been disproved. Or that their theory of value, like their endless prophecies, was totally fallacious. What mattered to them was bringing on the world revolution for which *The Communist Manifesto* and *Das Kapital* supplied the blueprint. The class struggle, eventually to be fomented by Marx's followers in every nation on earth, was launched in earnest by the publication of these "bibles" of socialism. The Marxists had declared war on capitalism. It was a war which, they said, could end only with the violent overthrow of the "bourgeoisie" and the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

While presenting an intimate picture of Marx, this biographer has sketched in an accurate and interesting backdrop

(Continued on page 57)

America's Choice:

Freedom or Slavery

by

OSCAR H. BRINKMAN

♦ ♦ ♦

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of Nineteenth Century Europe. We are able to see clearly the fertile fields in which Marx sowed his gospel of hate. We can also watch "the Moor," as he sinks deeper and deeper into frustrated personal obscurity, pervert history and economics more and more shamelessly to suit his mad designs. At last, conscious of his inability to ride the monster he had created, broken in spirit and in health, Karl Marx died. Even his "greatest" work, *Das Kapital*, had to be finished for him by Engels, and the third volume was not published until Marx had been dead twelve years. But all of his "work," like much evil that men do, lives after him.

* * *

One of the most brazen fictions currently foisted on America is that labor union abuses are merely an historical reaction to the "flagrant abuses" of big business of yesteryear. This fabrication of shoddy or dishonest "scholarship" has caught on somewhat like the current hula-hoop craze. And it has its advocates whirling around the same way in circles, not sure of where they are going but having an exciting time getting there. For the truth about these "oppressive business monopolies" (dealt with at length in F. A. Hayek's *Capitalism And The Historians*), is that "it just ain't so."

Actually, the chief force in the recruitment of the present seventeen million members of labor unions has been a strategic army of propagandists. Power-hungry politicians, eager for votes, and ubiquitous do-gooders have greatly aided these propagandists in creating sympathy for the union and

distrust for the entrepreneur. Exempted from anti-trust laws, and aided immensely by unfair legislation (particularly the Wagner Act), organized labor has grown to a position of dangerous monopoly, seriously threatening to destroy the capitalistic system.

LABOR UNIONS AND PUBLIC POLICY (American Enterprise Association, Washington, D. C.; 177 pages, \$4.50), by Chamberlin, Bradley, Reilly, and Pound, is a symposium devoted to an objective analysis of four important labor union problems. Edward H. Chamberlin, Professor of Political Economy at Harvard University, writing on "The Economic Analyses of Labor Union Power," cogently dispels the myth that higher incomes to union members spread general prosperity. The anachronism still exists, he claims, of a belief that labor is downtrodden and deserving of some kind of sympathy, although those who are *really* concerned with the underprivileged won't listen to the trade unions. Dr. Philip D. Bradley, formerly Professor of Economics at Harvard, now at the University of Virginia, says: "It is a curiosity of our Federal Labor Acts that under them the employer often emerges as the sole defender of the freedoms of individual workers." Roscoe Pound, former Dean of Harvard Law School, points out that the National Labor Relations Board, unlike other boards and commissions set up to protect *the public*, protects only the labor unions and their leaders, *at the expense of the public*. Each of the four chapters (including "States Rights and the Law of Labor Relations," by Washington attorney Gerard D. Reilly) is well written and thoughtfully developed to show unions in their true perspective.

IF YOU WANT IT STRAIGHT ...

A Postscript

After this issue of AMERICAN OPINION was in page proofs we received a copy of a Vietnam Press Release, under a Saigon dateline of October 7. It reported that Mr. Vu Van Thai, Director-General of the South Vietnam Budget for Foreign Aid, had left Saigon on October 3 for a one-month visit to the United States. "During his stay in Washington," this press release stated, "Mr. Thai will confer with high officials of the Foreign Aid Administration of the Department of State concerning American aid to South Vietnam. He will also discuss problems relating to the spending of aid to Vietnam with American appropriation officials."

Despite the wide publicity usually given visits to this country from Vietnamese officials, however, there has been no similar press release in America. And it is quite understandable why USIA, other agencies of our government, and Ngo dinh Diem's American friends are being so coy about Mr. Vu Van Thai's trip to the United States. One reason may be simply the rising resentment of the American people against this whole foreign-aid nonsense in general. But there is a more cogent reason.

For Mr. Vu Van Thai was a top-level Red in Ho chi Minh's government until the Geneva accord of 1954. Most reliable Vietnamese regard him as still a Viet-

minh. In mid-1957 Vu Van Thai made exchange in francs available, out of American foreign aid to South Vietnam, to pay for a printing job in Paris. It was done by the Minh Tan Press, at 7 rue Guenegaud. Running the press was Vu Van Thai's old friend, Nguyen ngoc Bich, the Communist engineer who sabotaged all the bridges in Cochinchina for Ho chi Minh. Since this Minh Tan shop was doing the pamphlet printing for the Vietminh (Communist) League in Paris, it follows that the American-aid job awarded by Vu Van Thai was used to keep the Communists' printing plant going. These and similar facts will explain why Vu Van Thai was permitted to slip into America without a word and, it was undoubtedly hoped, to depart the same way.

In Laos, as previously reported in these pages, we are turning over forty million dollars per year in American foreign aid to Mr. Souphannou Vong, for his distribution, *to keep Laos from going Communist*. But Mr. Vong is the leader of the Communist faction in Laos, and has been so recognized for years. Since the American people have been willing to take that kind of betrayal lying down, wouldn't the Communists be silly if they didn't try to make a regular formula out of the Laos pattern?



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